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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Working Documents

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Report

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee

on  Southern Africa

Rapporteur: Sir James SCOTT-HOPKINS

OR . FR

The European Parliament referred the following motions for resolutions to the Political Affairs Committee pursuant to Rule 47:

- at its sitting of 12.11.1979, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-487/79/rev) tabled by Mrs BONINO and others on European responsibilities in Southern Africa,
- at its sitting of 15.11.1979, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-515/79) tabled by Mr van MINNEN and others on South Africa,
- at its sitting of 16.11.1979, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-525/79) tabled by Mrs CASSANMAGNAGO CERRETTI and others on South Africa,
- at its sitting of 16.1.1980, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-652/79) tabled by Mr ENRIGHT and others on the British Rugby Union tour of South Africa,
- at its sitting of 14.3.1980, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-24/80) tabled by Mr ENRIGHT and others on participation in the Olympic Games,
- at its sitting of 14.4.1980, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-80/80) tabled by Mr GLINNE and others on apartheid in South Africa,
- at its sitting of 23.5.1980, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-191/80) tabled by Mr ANSART and others on the ending of relations between the EEC, and South Africa's apartheid regime, in accordance with UN resolutions,
- at its sitting of 19.9.1980, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-411/80) tabled by Mrs ROUDY and others on the effects of the apartheid regime on women in South Africa,
- at its sitting of 15.1.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-801/80) tabled by Mr HUME and others on behalf of the Socialist Group and Mr LALOR and others on the South African tour of the Irish Rugby Football Union,
- at its sitting of 9.3.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-925/80) tabled by Mr GLINNE and others on the status of Namib and the possibility of an oil embargo on South Africa,

- at its sitting of 9.3.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-932/80) tabled by Mrs LIZIN on South African military raids on Angolan territory,
- at its sitting on 9.3.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-945/80) tabled by Mr GLINNE on respect for human rights in South Africa,
- at its sitting on 13.2.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-916/80) tabled by Mr ROGERS and others on the activities of South African troops in Southern Angola,
- at its sitting on 14.10.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-595/81) tabled by Mr SCHALL and others on the situation in Namibia,
- at its sitting on 14.10.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-490/81) tabled by Mr SEGRE and others on the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by South African troops,
- at its sitting on 14.10.1981, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-491/81) tabled by Mr IRMER and others on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group on the South African attacks in Angola and the crisis in Namibia,
- at its sitting on 17.2.1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1-1007/81) tabled by Mr LEZZI on the death of the trade unionist Neil AGGETT,
- at its sitting on 8.3.1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc.1071/81) tabled by Mrs CASTLE and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on the interim report of the fact-finding mission sent by the ACP/EEC Joint Committee to the front-line states of Southern Africa.
- at its sitting on 24.3.1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-24/82) tabled by Mr C. JACKSON and others on Southern Africa,
- at its sitting on 24.3.1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-26/82) tabled by Mr BOYES and others on the cricket tour of South Africa,
- at its sitting on 22.4.1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1094/81) tabled by Mrs CLWYD, on behalf of the Socialist Group, on South African press policy,

- at its sitting on 22 April 1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1096/81) tabled by Mr Sieglerschmidt and Mr Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the charge of murder brought against two clergymen in the Republic of South Africa.
- at its sitting on 22 April 1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-1097/81) tabled by Mr Van Miert and Mr Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group, on the release of youth movement leaders in South Africa,
- at its sitting on 22 April 1982, the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-144/82) tabled by Mr Denis and others on the death sentences pronounced on three members of the African National Congress (ANC) and on the death in prison of the trade union representative Neil Aggett.

The motions for resolutions 1-487/79/rev., 1-515/79, 1-525/79, 1-80/80, 1-191/80, 1-411/80, 1-490/81, 1-491/81, 1-595/81, 1-1071/81 and 1-24/82 were referred to the Committee on Development and Cooperation for its opinion. The motion for a resolution 1-24/80 was referred to the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport for its opinion. The motion for a resolution 1-411/80 was forwarded for information to the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in Europe.

At its meeting of 23 January 1980 the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report.

At its meeting of 20 February 1980 the Political Affairs Committee appointed Sir James SCOTT-HOPKINS rapporteur.

The Political Affairs Committee considered this report at its meetings of 24-26 February 1982, 28-30 April 1982 and 23-25 June 1982. The report was also the subject of a joint meeting on 23 June 1982 of the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Development and Cooperation, which had been asked for its opinion. The Political Affairs Committee adopted the motion for a resolution on 23 September 1982 by 24 votes to 1, with 10 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Mr Rumor, chairman; Mr Haagerup, first vice-chairman; Mr Fergusson, third vice-chairman; Sir James Scott-Hopkins, rapporteur; Mr Antoniozzi, Mr Balfe (deputizing for Mrs Gredal), Mr Barbi, Lord Bethell, Mr Beyer de Ryke (deputizing for Mr Berkhouwer), Mr Bournias, Mr Cariglia, Mr Deschamps, Lord Douro, Lady Elles, Mr Gawronski (deputizing for Mr Bettiza), Mr Habsburg, Mr von Hassel, Mr Israël (deputizing for Mr de la Malène), Mr Jaquet, Mr Klepsch, Mr Lalor, Mr Lomas, Mr van Minnen (deputizing for Mrs van den Heuvel), Mr Mommersteeg (deputizing for Mrs Lenz), Lord O'Hagan, Mr d'Ormesson (deputizing for Mr Diligent), Mr Pelikan (deputizing for Mr Motchane), Mr Penders, Mr Piquet, Mr Plaskovitis, Mr Romualdi, Mr Schall, Mr van Miert, Mr Walter (deputizing for Mr Hänsch) and Mr Zagari.

The opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation is attached.

By letter of 11 March 1981 the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport indicated that it did not intend to deliver an opinion on this report.

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The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following Motion for a Resolution, together with Explanatory Statement

MOTION FOR RESOLUTION
ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The European Parliament,

- A in view of the continuance of the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and its effects throughout Southern Africa
- B in view of the recent developments within the structure of South African politics,
- C in view of the meagre results of the Code of Conduct for firms in the Member States with subsidiaries in South Africa,
- D in view of the dependence of Member States on trade in strategic raw materials with the Republic of South Africa,
- E in view of the strategic position of Southern Africa on major shipping routes to and from the Community,
- F in view of the close relations between the Community and several Lomé Convention States in Southern Africa,
- G having regard to the significance of a free and independent State of Namibia for the whole of Southern Africa,
- H in view of periodic incursions into neighbouring states by South African armed forces,
- I in view of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and the involvement of three Member States, acting with the USA and Canada on behalf of the UN to achieve independence for Namibia,
- J recalling its resolution of September 1977 on the Code of Conduct¹,
- K recalling its resolution of November 1981 on shipping routes for the supply of energy and strategic materials to the Community² and its resolution of 17 December 1981 on the situation in Southern Africa³,
- L having regard to the important evidence provided by the ACP-EEC fact-finding mission which recently visited Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe and the initial conclusions set out in the resolution adopted on 4 February 1982 in Salisbury,
- M in view of the motions for resolutions presented by Mrs BONINO and others, Mr van MINNEN and others, Mrs CASSANMAGNAGO CERRETTI and others, Mr ENRIGHT and others on behalf of the Socialist Group, Mr ENRIGHT and others, Mr GLINNE and others, Mr ANSART and others, Mrs ROUDY and others, Mr HUME and others on behalf of the Socialist Group and Mr LALOR and others, Mr GLINNE and others, Mrs LIZIN, Mr GLINNE, Mr ROGERS and others, Mr SCHALL and others, Mr SEGRE and others, Mr IRMER and others, Mr IEZZI, and Mrs CASTLE and others on behalf of the Socialist Group, Mr C. JACKSON and others, Mr BOYES and other Mrs CLWYD, on behalf of the Socialist Group, Mr SIEGLERSCHMIDT and others,

¹ OJ C 157/56, 21.5.79

² OJ C 327/46, 14.12.81

³ OJ C 11/01 18.1.82

Mr VAN MIERT and Mr GLINNE on behalf of the Socialist Group, and Mr DENIS and others¹,

N recalling the resolution of the ACP/EEC Joint Committee adopted in Zimbabwe on 9 February 1982 (AC/CP/275 fin.) on the situation in Southern Africa,

O having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation (Doc. 1-657/82),

1. - Condemns unreservedly the policy of apartheid, in all its manifestations, pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which represents a permanent and extremely serious violation of human rights;
- Confirms its solidarity with the egalitarian and peaceful aspirations of the non-white peoples in their suffering;
2. Regrets that the proposals for internal reform put forward by the Prime Minister of South Africa are utterly inadequate insofar as the great majority of the South African population will continue to be deprived of basic human rights; and supports all measures in relations between the Republic of South Africa and the Member States of the European Community which seem likely to accelerate the process of internal reform with the aim of abolishing apartheid;
3. Regrets that the commitment made by the Prime Minister to undertake far-reaching reforms in South Africa's racial policies has not yet been fully implemented, particularly in certain key areas:
 - (a) the lack of initiatives to allow South Africa's black population to participate meaningfully in the democratic processes of the country; the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council;
 - (b) the denial of freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of association to all citizens;
 - (c) the subjection of black trade unions to unacceptable pressure, in both legal form and by police practice, which deprives them of the normal opportunities of trade unions in a free society;

¹ See Annexes V et seq.

- (d) the harassment by the police of individuals who have tried to campaign peacefully against the policies of the Government of South Africa, such as Nelson Mandela;
 - (e) the continued segregation of schools and the great disparity between the educational facilities and opportunities available to non-white and white children;
 - (f) the continued disparity in the quality of health care available to the different ethnic groups;
 - (g) the failure to recognize the right of workers to live with their families in the areas where they are working;
4. Expresses its encouragement of the work carried out by all groups and individuals working towards the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a free non-racial and democratic society in South Africa;
 5. Criticises the arbitrary and unsatisfactory manner in which areas of South Africa have been turned into so-called 'independent or self-governing' black homelands which cannot be regarded as economically or politically independent states;
 6. Considers that the inhabitants of the homeland areas should have the right to participate in the governmental processes of South Africa as a whole and that any changes in their citizenship must be introduced with their consent;
 7. Considers that the future policy on homelands must take into account the wishes of the people affected, and that changes should not be imposed upon them as in the case of the proposed merger of the Nagwavuma region of Kwazulu and Kangwane with Swaziland;
 8. Takes the view that the Code of Conduct for European firms with South African subsidiaries has made a valuable contribution to progress within South Africa, particularly in the development of multi-racial trade unions, but criticises:
 - (a) the lack of control by Member States, which enables some firms to evade their responsibilities, thus reinforcing apartheid and gaining an unfair advantage over their competitors,
 - (b) the supervision of the Code exercised by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, which is totally inadequate,

(c) the lack of information provided by the Foreign Ministers to Parliament which prevents any exercise of proper parliamentary supervision at the European level;

9. Therefore calls for the submission of annual reports by the Commission in cooperation with the Governments of Member States to the European Parliament on the observance of the Code of Conduct by companies from Member States operating in South Africa;
10. Insists that without adequate parliamentary scrutiny the Code of Conduct cannot fulfil its full function and therefore the European Parliament should be provided with full written and oral reports on the extent of the implementation of the Code;
11. Calls upon the Commission, Council and Foreign Ministers to collaborate to ensure that the embargo on arms sales to South Africa is respected at all times and by all Member States and recommends that arms sales to neighbouring states be strictly controlled;
12. Requests that Member States should examine ways of reducing their dependence on supplies of raw materials from South Africa, in particular by seeking other sources of supply and reducing consumption;
3. Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the EEC to bring the strongest possible pressure to bear in order to prevent further military incursions by South Africa against neighbouring states and to bring about the withdrawal of Cuban and other forces from Southern Africa;
4. Calls for the disbanding, under international supervision, of the militant SWAPO troops in Angola and the uninterrupted supervision of the border between Angola and Namibia to prevent any terrorist attacks on the Ovambo majority in Namibia;
5. Reaffirms its will to help all nations in South Africa to develop closer relationships with each other and to help maintain peace and stability in the region;
6. Reaffirms its commitment to help other States in Southern Africa to develop greater economic prosperity through the Lomé Convention and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference;

17. Reaffirms that Angola and Mozambique will be welcomed as members of the Convention of Lomé and that, in all events, they must be allowed to benefit fully from the Community instruments intended for the development of the non-associated countries;
18. Recognizes the extent to which the States in Southern Africa are dependent on South Africa and feels that the long-term economic development of SADCC must be seen in the context of Southern Africa as a whole;
19. Stresses that, by cooperating more actively with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference and its Member States in the mining and energy fields the European Community could find new ways of reducing its dependence on the Republic of South Africa for its raw materials supplies if it also cuts its internal consumption;
20. Stresses, furthermore, that increased cooperation with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference should include appropriate technical assistance and should cover the following fields in particular:
 - aid for reconstruction and development of infrastructures, notably in the fields of transport and communications;
 - aid for the preparation of a collective agro-food strategy;
 - aid for industrial development;
 - aid for the development of the education and training system;
 - aid for refugees;
21. Calls on all States in Southern Africa to respect human rights for all their people, irrespective of race, religion or tribe;
22. Calls on all the parties involved to proceed without delay on the granting of independence to Namibia, in accordance with Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council;
23. Calls on the governments of the Member States acting in political cooperation to use their influence to this end;

24. Calls, in this connection, for recognition for the true ethnic situation in Namibia and for SWAPO's claim to sole representation to be rejected;
25. Emphasizes the need for democratic elections to be held in Namibia without delay after a constitutional settlement has been reached and in conditions that allow all the political parties to participate freely;
26. Hopes that the Government of South Africa will enter into negotiations with the government of an independent Namibia in order to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution to the status of Walvis Bay, in view of the enormous importance of Walvis Bay to an independent Namibia and neighbouring landlocked states;
27. Emphasizes the need for the community to participate fully in the development of Namibia at this critical time and expresses the hope that an independent Namibia will become a signatory of the Lomé Convention;
28. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Foreign Ministers Meeting in Political Cooperation, the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Parliaments of the Member States.

PART I - REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICAApartheid(i) Declarations by EEC Foreign Ministers since 1975

1. The Declaration by the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation of 23 February 1976 (cf. Annex IV), was the first precise statement by the Member States on apartheid. The Declaration condemned the South African policy of apartheid. On 28 September 1976, the President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Van der Stoep, condemned South Africa's racial policy on behalf of the Community before a meeting of the UN General Assembly. On 28 October 1976, the permanent representative of the Netherlands, Mr Kaufmann, refused on behalf of the Nine to recognise the so-called independence granted on 26 October 1976 by South Africa to the Transkei, the first of the homelands, explaining that to recognise the Transkei as an independent state would only consolidate the policy of apartheid.

2. In August 1977, the first UN anti-apartheid Conference was held at Lagos. There, Mr Simonet, the President-in-Office of the Foreign Ministers of the Nine, expressed the Community's rejection of the concept of communities separated according to different races. The Nine deplored South Africa's refusal to work towards a non-racial society in which the whole population could enjoy equal rights. Only a move in this direction could solve the country's problems, he said. The policy of apartheid was an insult to human dignity and inconsistent with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. On 20 September 1977, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation in Brussels adopted the Code of Conduct for Community companies with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa (see below).

(ii) Declaration by the Commission of the European Communities

4. In its fourteenth General Report on the activities of the European Communities in 1980, the Commission stated that 'with regard to South Africa itself, the apartheid policy is still a matter of grave concern for the community, which resolutely condemned this political system and regretted the authoritarian way in which it was being maintained despite general disapproval and open opposition. The Community also regretted that the internal discussions in South Africa, which it had followed with particular interest, had not yet resulted in any real progress towards the establishment of a more just society. It warned that if this situation continued there would be an increase in tension, which would in turn jeopardise the chances of an equitable and lasting solution'.⁽¹⁾ ⁽²⁾

(iii) Code of Conduct

Outline of the Scheme

5. On 20 September 1977, the Foreign Ministers of the Community, meeting within the framework of political cooperation, adopted a 'Code of Conduct' for Community companies with subsidiaries, branches or representation in South Africa.⁽³⁾ The Member States have, however, adopted different approaches to the Code.

6. The Code was seen as a decisive factor in the establishment of an overall strategy to combat apartheid by aiming to nullify South African legislation in the sector of employment. The text was not legally binding; its effectiveness depended on the willingness of companies to comply with its provisions. The emphasis of the Code was on the demand for equal treatment of blacks and whites at the workplace. It covered six main areas:

(1) Fourteenth General Report on the activities of the European Communities in 1980, point 689

(2) For resolutions of the EP on apartheid, see Annex III

(3) For the full text, see Annex I

- relations within the undertaking,
- migrant labour,
- pay,
- wage structure and black African advancement,
- fringe benefits,
- desegregation at places of work.

7. Responsibility for ensuring that the Code was observed was to fall mainly on European parent companies, on the basis of whose annual reports the Governments of the Community Member States were expected to carry out a yearly review of progress made in implementing it.

Effectiveness of the Code

8. The implementation of the Code was to be carried out at national level and was to be the responsibility of the Member States although neither the Governments of the Member States nor the Community institutions have sufficient legal means to impose sanctions on companies in South Africa which are not willing to respect the Code. There remains in consequence widespread concern in many Member States regarding the efficacy of Community measures to ensure the uniform application of the Code.

9. However, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation in August 1980 welcomed the fact that the results of the Code had so far been encouraging and showed that the South African subsidiaries of the European firms concerned 'take their social responsibilities seriously'.¹ Convinced that further progress could be made within the next few years, the Foreign Ministers also stated that the implementation of the Code would continue to form the subject of careful study in the context of political cooperation.

¹ In reply to Written Question No. 554/80, OJ C 245/7, 22/9/1980

Resolution of the European Parliament

10. In April 1979, Parliament adopted the motion for resolution embodied in the Lagorce Report (Doc. 70/79), on the form, status, context and application of the Code of Conduct¹.

Whilst welcoming the adoption of the Code, Parliament made a number of criticisms of its content and drew attention to various provisions which required to be strengthened or expanded.

¹ OJ C 157/56, 21/5/1979,

PART II. THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A RAW MATERIAL
PRODUCER

11. The importance of South Africa in the distribution of reserves and production of raw materials is clear.

South Africa 'is the leading world producer of chromium, gold, platinoids and vanadium; it ranks second for manganese and third for antimony, asbestos, diamonds (both industrial and gem) and uranium. It alone accounts for 41% of the West's production of chromium ore, 25% of its antimony, 75% of its gold, 85% of its platinoids, 56% of its vanadium and 39% of its manganese'.¹

As far as the 'strategic' metals are concerned, South Africa supplies 68% of the vanadium imported by the West, 57% of the platinoids, 56% of the ferrochromium, 52% of the manganese metal, 51% of the gold, 33% of the manganese, 30% of the chromium ore and 20% of the ferromanganese. In all these cases she is far and away the West's leading supplier'.²

(i) EEC Imports from South Africa

12. The following figures demonstrate the scale on which South Africa supplies the EEC with raw materials:

¹ See: E. Sassoon; Raw materials and Foreign Policy: the OECD countries and the risk of disruption in the supplies of strategic raw materials. Lo Spettatore Internazionale, a quarterly journal of the Istituto Affari Internazionali. Rome. October-December 1980, page 268.

² Idem, page 269.

A - EC IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA OF COPPER ORES AND CONCENTRATES
(NIMEXE 2601-71) AND OF COPPER MATTE; UNWROUGHT COPPER,
COPPER WASTE AND SCRAP (NIMEXE 74.01)¹

(1000 EUA)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
	154875	222156	194043	196655	254711
TOTAL EC IMPORTS FROM ALL THIRD COUNTRIES:	2566483	2487282	2130752	2816178	3488529

B - EC IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA, OF GOLD, NON MONETARY
(Excluding gold ore and concentrates)² (SITC 971)

(in million EUA)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
	968	1649	712	950	753
TOTAL EC IMPORTS FROM ALL THIRD COUNTRIES:	2291	3129	1757	2435	2802

C - EC IMPORTS OF COAL FROM SOUTH AFRICA (NIMEXE 27.01)³

(1000 EUA)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
	107774	198809	270954	387597	567779
TOTAL EC IMPORTS FROM ALL THIRD COUNTRIES:	1683345	1631499	1444503	2000883	2780607

D - EC IMPORTS OF ORES OF URANIUM AND THORIUM FROM SOUTH AFRICA
(SITC 286)⁴

(1000 EUA)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
	-	2294	27543	4778	-
TOTAL EC IMPORTS FROM ALL THIRD COUNTRIES:	96660	105193	179101	173738	2269

- 1 Source: Analytical tables of Foreign Trade, EUROSTAT, Luxembourg
- 2 Idem
- 3 Idem
- 4 Idem

EC IMPORTS OF STRATEGIC RAW MATERIALS
FROM SOUTH AFRICA¹

(percentages refer to proportion of total EC imports in 1977-78)

Antimony (ore)	10%	
Asbestos	12%	
Cadmium (unwrought)	3%	(Namibia)
Chromium (ore)	50%	
(ferrochrome)	49%	
Cobalt (unwrought)	3%	
Copper	7%	(inc. S.W. Africa)
Fluorspar	7%	
Gold	56%	
Iron ore	6%	
Lead	6%	
Lithium (ore)	65%	
Manganese (ore)	45%	
(ferromanganese)	25%	
(metal unwrought)	78%	
Nickel	7%	
Platinum group	28%	
Silver (99.9% or more)	3%	
Tin	4%	
Tungsten	4%	(Namibia)
Vanadium (U ₂ O ₅)	25%	
Zinc	3%	(inc. S.W. Africa)
Zirconium (ore and concentrates)	4%	

¹ The table is included in the revised edition of 'Non-Fuel Mineral Data Base' by Philip Crowson Revised 1980 edition, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

(ii) The strategic significance of the Cape route

13. In recent years the Indian Ocean has assumed a growing importance in the confrontation of the two superpowers, due in particular to the new naval policy of the Soviet Union. In the seventies and early eighties the Soviet Union has become an outstanding maritime power and has set up a series of military bases that allow it to control closely the Indian Ocean. Apart from the fact that the USSR could, with its missiles based in Afghanistan, reach the American base of Diego Garcia, it has set up a series of bases along the shores of the Indian Ocean: in Ethiopia it has established a base in Massawa, and in Mozambique and Angola 'Backfire' bombers are stationed. From bases in Aden, the USSR can control the Bab el Mandeb strait that gives access to the Red Sea. The crucial points for European security in terms of raw materials supplies are the Ormuz strait, the Bab el Mandeb strait and the Cape route.

14. The 1973 Yom Kippur war and the closure of the Suez Canal diverted oil deliveries to Europe by the Cape route. In 1977, oil traffic through the Canal represented only 30% of the global traffic (1966 : 80%).¹ At present Europe receives the greatest part of its crude oil through the Cape route, and it is therefore vital for Europe to prevent any attempt to its security. In 1980 it was in fact calculated that every day 32 super tankers round the Cape in order to supply Europe with 80% of its oil needs.² The maritime traffic around the Cape represents a third of the world traffic³, so that its strategic importance is evident. The delivery of raw materials to Eastern South America, Eastern United States and Northern Europe has for the most part to go round the Cape, and a blockade of this route would be a desperate blow for Europe and the West.

¹ 'Quel avenir pour le Canal de Suez?' in: Défense Nationale, février 1979, p. 88

² 'Situation géostratégique de l'Afrique Australe', in: Défense Nationale, juillet 1980, p. 33.

³ 'Enjeux et défis dans le golfe et l'océan Indien' in: Défense Nationale, juillet 1981, p. 79.

15. In November 1981 the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the surveillance and protection of shipping routes and supplies of energy and strategic materials to the countries of the European Community.¹ The resolution called upon those Member States with naval forces to coordinate within the framework of European political cooperation their patrols outside the zone covered by the North Atlantic Treaty and equally to strengthen their naval forces. These actions were to be taken in order to secure the vital supplies of the European Community and thus to safeguard the economic development of the Third World.

¹ Resolution contained in the report by Mr Diligent, OJ C 327, 14.12.81.

PART III - SADCC¹ COUNTRIES AND EEC POLICY TOWARDS THEM

16. With approaching political independence in Zimbabwe in the late 1970's, the states of the region turned their attention to the means of reducing their economic dependence on South Africa, and notably in the transport field, through closer cooperation amongst themselves. This trend was accentuated by a series of political factors, including:

- Pretoria's advancement of the case for a Southern African 'Constellation of States' based on South Africa, which was to include its 'independent' bantustans (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, etc.) as well as the other states of Southern Africa. This was seen particularly by President Seretse Khama of Botswana as an attempt to secure international acceptance of the apartheid system, which required to be countered by an African regional initiative rooted in the OAU charter.
- Pressure in the fields of economic and transport policies exercised on the independent states by South Africa and the Rhodesian regime in the period immediately preceding Zimbabwe's independence.
- a growing concern amongst the independent states about the eventual impact of internal strife within South Africa on the regional economic and transport systems.

17. These developments were of special concern to the African front-line states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia). This grouping was established under the chairmanship of President Nyerere in the mid 1970's, following the independence of Angola and Mozambique, for the purpose of coordinating Southern African and OUA policy in regard to self-government in Zimbabwe and Namibia and to the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

¹ SADCC - Southern African Development Coordination Conference. It consists of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

18. Within the front line states, the lead was taken by President Seretse Khama in proposing in 1977-78 that this group of states should extend their joint action from the political field into the area of regional economic cooperation. Seretse Khama's initiative was supported by President Nyerere, and subsequently received the personal approval of President Kaunda of Zambia.

19. The Angola and Mozambique leadership also gave strong support to the SADCC proposals, which were launched at Arusha, Tanzania in 1979 (SADCC-1). With agreement amongst the front-line states, the way was then open to associate the other countries of the region (Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland) with SADCC, and with its major policy declaration, "Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation" adopted by heads of state at a summit meeting held in Lusaka in April 1980. This declaration and presidential meeting also provided the occasion for welcoming an independent Zimbabwe to the regional organisation.

(i) SADCC Relations with South Africa¹

20. For virtually all the countries of the SADCC, the economic relationship with South Africa is currently more significant than economic links with their SADCC partners. Except for Angola and Tanzania, every economy in the region is to a marked extent dependent on South African sources of supply, key personnel, markets, finance, transportation, enterprises or employment opportunities.

¹ See also information paper by Commission on the SADCC, 1981.

21. Amongst the SADCC countries of the region, the most important economic bond was provided historically by the rail transport system, which linked the land-locked states and regions of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Swaziland (and the Shaba province of Zaire) with overseas markets and supplies through the ocean ports of Angola, Mozambique and subsequently Tanzania. In the mid 1970's the effectiveness of this regional transport system was sharply disrupted by two major events of marked political consequence. These were:

- the application of international economic sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian regime by the newly-independent government in Mozambique, which resulted in the closure of all Mozambique-Zimbabwe transport links from 1975-80;
- the impact of internal conflicts within Angola nourished by South Africa, which has resulted in the virtual closure of the Benguela route to international traffic with Zambia and Zaire since 1975.

22. These political developments, and inefficiencies in the operation of the Chinese-built Tazara railway (from the Zambian copper belt to Dar es Salaam), resulted in the diversion of a very substantial proportion of Zambian, Zaire and Zimbabwe traffic to southern routes, and in an increased dependence on South African outlets.

23. At the Blantyre meeting in 1981 of the SADCC Council of Ministers, the European Commission undertook to support the SADCC 'to the maximum', and anticipated that about US\$ 180-200 million per year would probably be spent in the SADCC countries.

(ii) Angola

24. On the death of President Neto in September 1979 the Central Committee of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola - Party of Labour (MPLA-PT) unanimously elected Mr José dos Santos as the new President of Angola and leader of the country's sole legal political party. He reaffirmed Dr Neto's objectives of non-alignment and friendly relations and cooperation with all countries and stressed Angola's continued support of the South West African People's Organisation, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front and the African National Congress in South Africa. The government continues to face armed opposition from its principal opponents, the anti-Communist FNLA and UNITA,¹ which seek the total liberation of Angola from 'Soviet-Cuban domination'.

(iii) Mozambique

25. During 1980 the FRELIMO regime (the Mozambique Liberation Front) headed by President SANCORA MACHEL continued to face armed opposition from the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MRNM), a dissident guerilla group formed after independence in 1975 and allegedly supported by South African, Portuguese and former Rhodesian interests. In May 1980, President Machel and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr MUGABE agreed on joint operations between the two countries to halt rebel activity. With Zimbabwe's cooperation the MRNM is now gradually being defeated. In August, President Machel paid a state visit to Zimbabwe as the first head of state to visit the country since independence, and signed agreements covering information, trade, energy, banking and air and land transport with Mr Mugabe.

26. In March 1980, Lord Soames, at that time Governor of Southern Rhodesia, visited Mozambique at the invitation of President Machel and suggested the possibility of aid being granted to Mozambique through the European Development Fund.

¹ National Front for the Liberation of Angola; National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

The possibility of association with the EEC under the Lomé Convention was also discussed. Although eligible to apply for membership of the Convention Mozambique has so far refused to join - possibly because of its close relations with the German Democratic Republic and East European states.

(iv) Relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa

27. Following the independence elections in Zimbabwe in February 1980, reports published in the South African press quoted military sources as suggesting the possibility of armed South African intervention in Zimbabwe in certain circumstances, although the South African Government denied suggestions that it would support or initiate a coup against a legally elected government. Following the elections, the South African Prime Minister Mr P.W. Botha said that the result was a decision by the people of Rhodesia, who would have to 'work it out for themselves and live with it', but he added: 'Any neighbour which allows its territory to be used for attacks on or the undermining of South Africa and its security will have to face the full force of the Republic's strength'.

28. On 4 March 1980 Zimbabwe's new Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, stated that relations with South Africa would be based on 'a mutual recognition of the differences that exist between us' and that the realities of the situation made it essential that the two countries should co-exist. However, on 26 June, in a speech to the Zimbabwe House of Assembly, Mr Mugabe declared that 'we cannot have any political and diplomatic relations with South Africa until it puts its own political house in order and kills the repugnance and revulsion that we have to apartheid'. In September 1980 the Zimbabwean diplomatic mission in Pretoria and the consulate in Cape Town were closed. The Government of Zimbabwe asked the South African Government to close its diplomatic mission in Salisbury on the same day. Trade and economic links between the two countries have, however, remained open.

(v) Relations between Angola, Mozambique and South Africa

29. Since 1975, anxious to protect its position in Namibia, South Africa has committed substantial forces to the support of UNITA ,against the governing MPLA in Angola. South African counter strikes have also continued into Angola, Zambia and Mozambique against the infiltration of guerilla groups based in these countries.

30. Hostilities, however, were at their most serious throughout 1979 and 1980. In June 1980 South African military forces carried out their largest scale operations to date in Angola. Angola protested to the UN Security Council at the incursions, claiming that between 2000 and 3000 South African troops had been involved and that some 400 Angolan civilians and dozens of soldiers had been killed. On 13 June the South African Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, declared that SWAPO's operational headquarters had been destroyed in the attack. Fierce fighting continued following continuous South African raids throughout June and into the autumn of 1980 - despite South Africa's assurance to the Security Council on 30 June that all its forces had been pulled back. The Angolan news agency Angop reported on 31 July that during the period January - June 1980 South Africa had carried out 529 violations of Angolan territory. Unofficial estimates in the press said that over this period 432 guerillas and 59 South Africans had been killed.

31. Throughout the late 1970s Mozambique, like Angola, continued to suffer from military raids along its frontier, launched largely from Rhodesia, but also with some South African participation and logistic support. Again, as in Angola, however, these raiding operations appeared to have been aimed rather at destabilising the régime than at destroying guerilla base camps. In February 1980, the South African Government warned Mozambique against harbouring guerillas who, it claimed, were 'conducting murderous

operations and acts of sabotage' against South Africa from bases in Mozambique. In May, however, Mozambique itself claimed that South Africa had bases for training anti-Government forces of both Mozambicans and Zimbabweans in the northern Transvaal.

(vi) Zambia and South Africa

32. In 1978 continuing guerilla activities provoked South African counter-strikes into Angola and Zambia over Namibia. In April 1980 the Zambian Government alleged that substantial numbers of South African troops were still in Western Zambia and called for an emergency session of the UN Security Council on the issue. The Security Council on 11 April 1980 unanimously condemned South Africa for 'continued intensified and unprovoked acts' against Zambia and called for the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Zambian air space.

33. On 27 October 1980 President Kaunda confirmed reports of an attempted coup in Zambia supported by South Africa. Mr R.F. Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, denied any involvement of South Africa in the affair, however. Since the proclamation of a one-party state in December 1972, the United National Independence Party has been the only legal party in Zambia. Its President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda has also, since 1964 been President and Head of State of the country. Zambia maintains relations with East European countries and with Iraq, India and Japan. Zambia also continues to receive military and technical aid from the Soviet Union.

PART IV - NAMIBIA

(i) Statements by EC Foreign Ministers since 1975

34. On 24 February 1976, the Community Foreign Ministers adopted a statement on Southern Africa in which they reaffirmed the right of the Rhodesian and Namibian peoples to self-determination and independence. In August 1976, the President-in-Office of the Nine, Mr van der Stoep, in a letter to Mr Waldheim, Secretary General of the UN, said that all political groups in Namibia (including SWAPO) must be represented in negotiations on independence for Namibia. He revealed the Community's concern at the South Africans' refusal fully to apply Security Council Resolution 385 of 1976, and to accept UN control in the process of Namibian self-determination.

35. On 29 September 1976 in a major speech on behalf of the Community to the General Assembly of the UN Mr van der Stoep declared that 'the UN should, in our view, focus its own contribution to the solution of the question of Namibia on the promotion of self-determination by the Namibian people in a manner both democratic and peaceful'.

36. In a joint statement to the 33rd session of the UN General Assembly in May 1979 - the Nine indicated their support of efforts being made by the Western Five as well as by the front line states and the Secretary General to implement the UN plan for Namibia. They urged the South African Government to agree to the immediate implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 and the installation of the UN transitional assistance group in Namibia.

(11) UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS

37. Among the many resolutions which were adopted by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council since 1975 on the question on Namibia ¹ there was one achieved by the five Western members of the Security Council (Canada, France, Great Britain, USA and West Germany). As a Contact Group they put forward a proposal in April 1978 for a settlement of the Namibian situation designed to bring about a transition to independence. A plan for a UN civilian and military operation in Namibia, designed to pave the way for elections leading to independence, was approved by the Security Council in September 1978. The decision was embodied in Resolution 435, in which the Council reiterated that its objective was the withdrawal of South Africa's administration of Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia. The Council decided to establish under its authority the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) for a period of up to 12 months, to assist the Secretary General's special representative for Namibia in carrying out his mandate to ensure the early independence of Namibia through elections under UN supervision and control.

¹ GA Res.3399 of 26.11.75 contained a strong condemnation of South Africa for its attempts to prolong its illegal occupation by organising a so-called 'constitutional conference' at Windhoek in September 1975

SC Res.285 of 1976 with the unanimous demand that South Africa should withdraw its illegal administration from Namibia

GA Res.31/146 of 20.12.1976 which declared support for the 'armed struggle of the Namibian people' and called for observer status to be granted to SWAPO at the UN General Assembly.

GA Res.32/9(D) of 4.11.1977 in which the GA condemned the decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay, thereby undermining the territorial integrity of Namibia.

SC Res.431(1978) requested the UN Sec.Gen. to appoint a UN special representative for Namibia.

SC Res.432 of 1978 on the reintegration of Walvis Bay within the territory of Namibia.

GA Res.35/227 of 6.3.1981 on among others the status of SWAPO, the need for SC sanctions against South Africa.

38. The plan for decolonisation in Resolution 435, provided for :

1. An immediate cease-fire and the establishment of a demilitarised zone on the entire length of the frontier between Namibia and Angola.
2. The introduction of a UN force of 7500 responsible for maintaining the cease-fire and for the police and the Namibian army.
3. As from March 1981, within twelve weeks, the number of South African troops to be reduced from 20,000 to 1500, to be stationed in about twenty camps scattered over the territory.
4. After a four-month electoral campaign supervised by the UN, the election of a constituent Assembly ; SWAPO guerillas to participate in the campaign only after they had laid down their arms.
5. After declaration of the results, South Africa to have one week finally to withdraw from the country.

(iii) Attitude of South African Government

39. In 1978, South Africa declared that it had accepted, in principle, UN proposals for the independence of Namibia, which had been approved by the UN Security Council in Resolution 435 (September 29 1978). The proposals envisaged a cease-fire and elections under UN supervision for a Constituent Assembly to draw up an independence constitution for Namibia. However, since that time there have been persistent differences between the South African Government and SWAPO over the implementation of the UN proposals, South Africa continuously questioning the UN's impartiality on the implementation of Resolution 435 and its ability to afford equal treatment to the political parties engaged in the election process.

Between 7-14 January 1981 a "pre-implementation" meeting was held under UN auspices in Geneva in connection with UN proposals for the independence of Namibia. The talks, which had involved all the parties concerned, ended without agreement on a date for implementing the UN proposals, however.¹ Meanwhile South African troops launched a number of military raids into Namibia against targets claimed to be SWAPO guerilla bases.

Following the exclusion of the South African delegation from the UN General Assembly debate on Namibia in March 1981, the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, said in Cape Town that it would have serious consequences for any future negotiations on Namibia.² In Windhoek, the Namibian capital, on 4 March, the Vice-President of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Dr Benjamin Africa, said that confidence in UN impartiality did not seem possible after this decision and added 'We must now look for other ways to make our country independent'. Both South Africa and the DTA now reject the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 as the basis for a Namibian settlement.

¹ One of the main causes for the delay in reaching agreement was the attitude of the government of South Africa, Mr P. Botha declared: 'We would rather endure international sanction than participate in the settlement of a marxist régime'.

² After the exclusion from the General Assembly Mr P. Botha stated: 'We have had to experience once again the double standards of UN partisanship'. And the South African Ambassador, Mr Eksteen declared that the expulsion showed that the UN lacked the impartiality needed to oversee the transition of South African-controlled Namibia to independence.

IV The new initiative on Namibia

40. On 3 May 1981 the Foreign Ministers of the Five (the 'contact Group') recognised that the decolonisation plan under Resolution 435 required strengthening. They initiated studies and contacts with the interested parties with a view to putting forward new proposals. Meanwhile, at a special session on Namibia in September 1981, the UN General Assembly called on all Member States to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on South Africa; the Five abstained in the vote.

41. On 26 October the principles of a constitution for an independent Namibia, on the basis of which Resolution 435 could be implemented, were unveiled in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. They provided for elections to ensure fair representation of political groups; an elected executive branch of Government responsible to the elected legislature; and an independent judicial branch. A combination of proportional representation and constituencies was proposed, as was a 'declaration of fundamental rights': These were designed to prevent the creation of a one-party state. In fact the electoral proposals became the source of considerable confusion and have since been amended by the Five to approximate to the mixed electoral system used for electing the German Bundestag, ie. one based on constituencies and lists. This system has recently been rejected both by SWAPO and the DTA, backed by the Front-line states and by the Council of Ministers of OUA, who prefer a simple proportional system. The mixed system has been accepted, however, by the South African government; thus an impasse has been reached for the present.

42. In January 1982 the South African government formally accepted the proposals of the Five, partly on account of an additional text in the form of non-aggression pact between Namibia and its neighbouring states. In terms of this, Namibia would not permit within its territory 'the installation of foreign military bases or the presence of foreign military units', nor would neighbouring states with regard to Namibia.

Code of Conduct for companies with subsidiaries,
branches or representation in South Africa¹

1. Relations within the undertaking

- (a) Companies should ensure that all their employees irrespective of racial or other distinction are allowed to choose freely and without any hindrance the type of organization to represent them.
- (b) Employers should regularly and unequivocally inform their employees that consultations and collective bargaining with organizations which are freely elected and representative of employees are part of company policy.
- (c) Should black African employees decide that their representative body should be in the form of a trade union, the company should accept this decision. Trade unions for black Africans are not illegal, and companies are free to recognize them, and to negotiate and conclude agreements with them.
- (d) Consequently, the companies should allow collective bargaining with organizations freely chosen by the workers to develop in accordance with internationally accepted principles.
- (e) Employers should do everything possible to ensure that black African employees are free to form or to join a trade union. Steps should be taken in particular to permit trade union officials to explain to employees the aims of trade unions and the advantages of membership, to distribute trade union documentation and display trade union notices on the company's premises, to have reasonable time off to carry out their union duties without loss of pay and to organize meetings.
- (f) Where works or liaison committees already operate, trade union officials should have representative status on these bodies if employees so wish. However, the existence of these types of committee should not prejudice the development or status of trade unions or of their representatives.

2. Migrant labour

- (a) The system of migrant labour is, in South Africa, an instrument of the policy of apartheid which has the effect of preventing the individual from seeking and obtaining a job of his choice: it also causes grave social and family problems.
- (b) Employers have the social responsibility to contribute towards ensuring freedom of movement for black African workers and their families.
- (c) In the meantime employers should make it their concern to alleviate as much as possible the effects of the existing system.

¹Bulletin EC No. 9/77, page 46 et seq.

3. Pay

Companies should assume a special responsibility as regards the pay and conditions of employment of their black African employees. They should formulate specific policies aimed at improving their terms of employment. Pay based on the absolute minimum necessary for a family to survive cannot be considered as being sufficient. The minimum wage should initially exceed by at least 50% the minimum level required to satisfy the basic needs of an employee and his family.

4. Wage structure and black African advancement

- (a) The principle of 'equal pay for equal work' means that all jobs should be open to any worker who possesses suitable qualifications, irrespective of racial or other distinction, and that wages should be based on a qualitative job evaluation.
- (b) The same pay scales should be applied to the same work. The adoption of the principle of equal pay would, however, be meaningless if black African employees were kept in inferior jobs. Employers should therefore draw up an appropriate range of training schemes of a suitable standard to provide training for their black African employees, and should reduce their dependence on immigrant white labour.

5. Fringe benefits

- (a) In view of their social responsibilities, undertakings should concern themselves with the living conditions of their employees and families.
- (b) For this purpose company funds could be set aside for use:
 - in the housing of black African personnel and their families,
 - in transport from place of residence to place of work and back,
 - in providing leisure and health service facilities,
 - in providing their employees with assistance in problems they encounter with the authorities over their movement from one place to another, their choice of residence and their employment,
 - in pension matters,
 - in educational matters,
 - in improving medical services, in adopting programmes of insurance against industrial accidents and unemployment, and in other measures of social welfare.

6. Desegregation at places of work

In so far as it lies within their own competence, employers should do everything possible to abolish any practice of segregation, notably at the workplace and in canteens, sports activities, education and training. They should also ensure equal working conditions for all their staff.

7. Reports on the implementation of the code of conduct

- (a) Parent companies to which this code is addressed should publish each year a detailed and fully documented report on the progress made in applying this code.
- (b) The number of black Africans employed in the undertaking should be specified in the report, and progress in each of the six areas indicated above should be fully covered.
- (c) The governments of the Nine will review annually progress made in implementing this code. To this end a copy of each company's report should be submitted to the national government.

COMMUNITY AID TO AFRICAN LOME COUNTRIES
AND NON-ASSOCIATED AFRICAN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

1. The Annex contains the following Tables :

Table 1 - Community Aid to ACP countries in the SADCC Group
1975-80 (Lomé I).

TABLE 2 - Community Aid to ACP countries in the SADCC Group
1975-80 - Distribution of Indicative and Regional
Programmes by Sectors (Lomé I).

TABLE 3 - Southern African regional projects founded by
the EDF under Lomé I.

TABLE 4 - Indicative Programme of ACP Countries in SADCC Group,
1980-85.

Source: Directorate General for Research
and Documentation.

TABLE 5 - The 4 EDF Funds : breakdown of cumulative global
commitments and cumulative payments by recipient
country.

Source: Annual Report of Court of Auditors
for 1979 (Doc 1-662/80), Annex 1,
Table IX.

NOTES:

(a) The four European Development Funds were as follows -

1st EDF - 1959-64 Recipients - Associated African States
and Madagascar (AASM), overseas countries
and territories (OCT) and French overseas
departments (OD).

2nd EDF - 1964-70 Recipients - idem
(Yaoundé I)

3rd EDF - 1971-76 " "
(Yaoundé II)

4th EDF - 1976-80 Recipients : ACP states and OCT and OD.
(Lomé I)

(b) In section A of Table 5, the list of countries headed by Senegal and continuing to Surinam are former 'Yaoundé' countries. The 'other countries' are African or 'offshore African' with the exception of West Irian.

(c) In section B of Table 5, the list headed by Tanzania and ending with Gambia are, with the exception of Fiji and Jamaica, African ACP countries.

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Accession of Zimbabwe to the Lomé Convention

On 18 April 1980, the very day it became independent, the Republic of Zimbabwe - formerly Southern Rhodesia - officially asked to accede to the second ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 31 October 1979.¹ Zimbabwe's official request for accession to the Lomé Convention was welcomed by the Council when it met on 21 and 22 April in Luxembourg. The Commission on 25 April presented to the Council a communication on the matter, which stated, inter alia:

' ... The Commission considers it of the highest political importance that the Community should respond favourably to this request as quickly as possible ... '

Upon the conclusion of detailed negotiations an agreement on the accession of Zimbabwe to the Convention was signed on 4 November and also an interim trade agreement conferring upon Zimbabwe the status of the ACP State in this sector with effect from 1 January 1981 until the accession agreement was ratified. In the course of 1980 the Community also implemented a substantial programme of aid for Zimbabwe, covering mainly resettlement and rebuilding. This programme, amounting to 14 million ECU was financed mainly from emergency aid, the programme of cooperation with non-associated developing countries, food aid and the support given by the Community to non-governmental organisations.²

The political significance of Zimbabwe's accession to the Lomé Convention is possibly of greater import than the economic significance. The choice by Mr Mugabe's government in fact means that his country is not willing to establish ties with the COMECON countries and believes that its economic development can be more safely secured in a framework such as that offered by the Convention: a framework that does not require military involvements such as military bases, etc.

¹ Bulletin of the European Communities 4-1980, point 1.4.1

² Commission of the European Communities, Fourteenth General Report, 1980, point 686.

Table I

Loan I - Community Aid to ACP Countries in the SADCC Group, 1975-80

	<u>EDF, EIB and other Community Commitments</u>				<u>M EUA</u>				Total
	Indic. Prog.	Except. Aid	Stabex	Regional	(2) NGO Food Aid		(3) CIEC	EIB	
Botswana	19.0	2.6	-	-	-	0.2	-	4.0	25.8
Lesotho	22.0	1.2	-	-	0.3	1.0	1.6	0.03	26.13
Malawi	70.0	4.0	-	-	0.02	-	5.2	10.7	89.92
Swaziland	12.0	-	13.2	-	-	-	-	10.15	35.35
Tanzania	103.4	0.4	20.7	-	0.5	22.0	16.2	11.78	174.98
Zambia	47.0	15.7	-	-	0.3	8.3	-	6.4	77.70
Regional	-	-	-	30.3+(30)	-	-	-	-	30.30
Refugees	-	22.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.30
Total	273.4	46.2	33.9	30.3	1.12	31.5	23.0	43.06	482.81
Angola(pm)	1.5 ⁽¹⁾	+ 1.0	-	-	-	+20.0	-	-	+ 22.5
Mozambique (pm)	2.9 ⁽¹⁾	+ 0.5	-	-	-	+24.0	-	-	+ 27.4
Zimbabwe (pm)	+6.0 ⁽¹⁾	8.0	-	-	+1.0	+ 1.0	-	-	+ 16.0
TOTAL SADCC	283.8	55.7	33.9	30.3	2.12	76.5	23.0	43.06	548.4

(1) Non associated developing countries programmes:

Angola 1978 (0.5 MEUA financed); 1979 (0.9 financed)
Mozambique 1978 (3.0 MEUA financed);
Zimbabwe 1979 (4.0 MEUA financed); 1980 (2.0 foreseen)

(2) Non governmental organizations

(3) Conference on international economic cooperation

Table 2

Lomé I - Community Aid to ACP Countries in the SADCC Group

1975-80. Distribution of Indicative and Regional Programmes by sectors

						M EUA			
	B	L	M	S	T	Z	Reg	Total	Total=100
	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)				
Agric., Live- stock Fisheries	5.4	5.7	30.0	6.0	24.5	29.8	0.5	101.9	34%
Industry	2.6	1.8	3.0	-	34.0	-	-	41.4	14%
Econ/social infrastructure	8.8	10.2	24.5	3.5	39.7	6.8	26.4	119.9	39%
Training	1.2	3.5	4.0	2.0	2.1	5.8	3.4	22.0	7%
Other	1.0	0.8	8.5	0.5	3.1	4.6	-	18.5	6%
Total	19.0	22.0	70.0	12.0	103.4	47.0	30.3	303.7	100%

(1) B (Botswana); L (Lesotho); M (Malawi); S (Swaziland); T (Tanzania);
Z (Zambia)

Table 3

SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL PROJECTS FUNDED BY THE EDF UNDER LOME I¹

	800 EUA
<u>GENERAL TRANSPORT</u>	
Zambia coastal link study	300
<u>RAILWAYS</u>	
Lobito rail route (Zambia/Zaire)	8.000
Bridge reconstruction Tazara (Tanzania/Zambia)	2.000
<u>INLAND WATERWAYS</u>	
Mpulungu harbour, Zambia	2.090
<u>ROADS</u>	
Botzam upgrading (Botswana/Zambia)	10.000
Zambia-Angola road study	80
<u>SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND TRAINING</u>	
University of Botswana and Swaziland	3.500
UN Institute for Namibia, Lusaka (Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia)	500
Institute of Development Management (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland)	500
<u>REGIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES</u>	
Railways (Botswana, Swaziland)	2.000
Post and Telecommunications (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland)	1.000
Secondary schooling (Swaziland, Lesotho)	130
Customs Service (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland)	170
<u>ANIMAL HEALTH</u>	
Veterinary control programme (Swaziland/Botswana)	500
Total commitment	30.770

¹ This list does not include regional projects of interest to Tanzania in an East African context, which amount to some 28 million ECU.

Table 4

Lomé II - Indicative Programme of ACP Countries

in SADCC Group, 1980-85

		M EUA
	<u>Fourchette</u>	<u>EIB</u>
		<u>First Reference</u>
Botswana	22 - 25	5
Lesotho	26 - 30	-
Malawi	76 - 84	15
Swaziland	17 - 19	10
Tanzania	115 - 132	-
Zambia	53 - 60	-
Zimbabwe	40	-
Regional	60 - 70	
	<hr/> 409 - 460	<hr/> 30

Table IX

A. Total aid for ACP countries and OCT/OD

(MEUA)

Country	Cumulative payments					Cumulative global commitments of the 4 EDFs
	1st EDF	2nd EDF	3rd EDF	4th EDF	Total	
Senegal	43,2	61,0	59,5	91,2	254,9	291,1
Madagascar	56,4	68,7	66,0	16,4	207,5	243,8
Cameroon	52,2	54,2	59,6	28,8	194,8	223,4
Ivory Coast	39,7	59,1	58,0	29,9	184,7	215,6
Zaire	18,0	79,3	52,6	27,4	177,3	287,6
Niger	31,1	31,7	46,5	65,6	174,9	200,9
Mali	42,3	33,9	48,7	36,4	161,3	206,6
Upper Volta	29,5	31,0	44,5	34,1	139,1	157,3
Chad	28,4	33,1	39,4	25,2	126,1	155,7
Mauritania	15,4	18,2	25,2	53,2	112,0	122,5
Congo	24,6	22,8	26,0	24,8	98,0	107,0
Rwanda	5,1	22,4	32,9	29,6	90,0	129,3
Benin	20,3	22,7	23,1	23,9	90,0	124,5
Togo	15,6	20,3	27,3	23,6	86,8	103,7
Somalia	9,8	27,8	33,8	15,2	86,6	119,4
Central African Rep.	18,7	27,7	28,9	10,4	85,7	105,7
Burundi	5,0	21,1	32,5	17,0	75,6	103,6
Gabon	17,5	21,0	25,1	11,0	74,6	79,5
Surinam	16,9	13,2	9,0	1,3	40,4	58,9
Other countries:						
Algeria	25,3	—	—	—	25,3	25,6
Comoros	3,3	2,8	3,7	4,5	14,1	20,9
Mauritius	—	—	3,7	4,9	8,6	18,3
Jibuti	1,2	1,9	1,5	1,9	6,5	9,5
West Irian	4,1	—	—	—	4,1	4,1
(Total other countries)	(33,9)	(4,5)	(8,9)	(11,3)	(58,6)	(78,4)
Aid for the benefit of several countries	2,2	8,4	15,3	85,6	111,5	238,8
Total of the countries which only benefit from the 4th EDF	—	—	—	325,5	325,5	905,6
Total OCT/OD	44,9	44,3	40,5	8,0	137,7	165,6
Total	568,7	728,4	881,3	995,2	3 891,8	4 422,5

B. Aid for countries which only benefit from the 4th EDF

(MEUA)

Country	Cumulative payments of the 4th EDF	Cumulative global commitments of the 4th EDF
Tanzania	44,6	103,1
Ethiopia	29,0	97,6
Kenya	28,8	80,5
Zambia	22,8	58,9
Malawi	21,6	65,5
Sudan	17,9	73,9
Guinea Bissau	17,2	26,2
Ghana	16,3	52,0
Uganda	16,1	38,0
Liberia	13,8	31,0
Guinea	12,8	58,4
Swaziland	9,8	17,5
Sierra Leone	8,9	30,9
Botswana	6,7	22,2
Fiji	6,7	16,3
Jamaica	5,9	19,4
Lesotho	5,6	20,1
Gambia	5,2	13,4
Other countries:		
Western Samoa	4,2	7,4
Dominica	4,1	5,8
Nigeria	4,0	7,4
Papua New Guinea	3,3	5,1
Trinidad and Tobago	3,1	8,7
Guyana	2,7	16,5
Cape Verde	2,5	4,4
Tonga	2,5	4,3
Solomon Islands	2,3	3,6
Kiribati	2,3	2,5
Barbados	2,0	4,2
Seychelles	0,7	2,6
St Lucia	0,5	2,1
Sao Tome and Principe	0,5	2,0
Bahamas	0,4	1,4
Equatorial Guinea	0,3	0,7
Grenada	0,2	2,0
Tuvalu	0,2	0,2
(Total other countries)	(35,8)	(80,7)
Total	325,5	905,6

C. Aid for OCT/OD

(MEUA)

Country	Cumulative payments					Cumulative global commitments of the 4 EDFs
	1st EDF	2nd EDF	3rd EDF	4th EDF	Total	
French:						
Reunion	8,9	9,2	8,7	0,3	27,1	27,2
Guadeloupe	4,4	4,7	5,8	0,2	15,1	15,2
Martinique	6,7	3,6	4,3	0,2	14,8	16,7
New Caledonia	2,2	4,0	2,5	0,0	8,7	12,9
French Guiana	1,9	2,9	3,0	0,9	8,7	9,4
Polynesia	4,4	0,9	2,9	—	8,2	8,3
St Pierre and Miquelon	3,0	0,6	0,0	—	3,6	3,6
Wallis and Futuna Islands	—	0,6	0,7	0,0	1,3	2,0
New Hebrides	—	—	—	0,7	0,7	0,7
French total	31,5	28,5	27,9	2,3	88,2	98,9
Dutch:						
Netherlands Antilles	13,4	17,8	12,6	1,8	45,4	58,3
British:						
Associated States in the Caribbean	—	—	—	2,8	2,8	6,1
Turks and Caicos Islands	—	—	—	—	—	0,2
New Hebrides	—	—	—	0,7	0,7	0,7
Belize	—	—	—	0,3	0,3	3,3
Montserrat	—	—	—	0,2	0,2	0,4
Virgin Islands	—	—	—	0,1	0,1	0,3
Cayman Islands	—	—	—	—	—	0,3
Falkland Islands	—	—	—	—	—	0,0
British total	—	—	—	4,1	4,1	11,3
Total	44,9	44,3	40,5	8,0	137,7	165,6

D. Countries which have not yet benefited:

French OCT:	Mayotte
British OCT:	Brunei Pitcairn St Helena

(1) The countries are listed in decreasing order of total payments.
(2) For detailed figures see section B of this table.
(3) For detailed figures see section C of this table.

APARTHEID

Resolutions by the European Parliament

The European Parliament's condemnation of the system of apartheid in South Africa has been declared on many occasions.

On 20 June 1980, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the political rights of the people of South Africa (OJ C 175/84 of 14/7/1980).

Declaring its support for the oppressed majority of South Africa, the Resolution deplored the continued imprisonment, and called for the immediate release, of black leaders (including Nelson Mandela) and many others imprisoned for political reasons. Expressing its concern at the reports of violence and deaths in South Africa, the Resolution condemned the persistent refusal by the South African Government to extend the most elementary political and human rights to all the people of the country.

Declaration by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs on Southern Africa and apartheid

1. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Nine countries of the Community meeting in Luxembourg and recalling the decisions which they have adopted with regard to the People's Republic of Angola, examined the problems arising in that area of Africa.

2. It is with great attention and considerable concern that the Ministers have followed events in Angola which have resulted in great suffering, loss of many human lives and serious damage to the economy. They call for the re-establishment of the peaceful situation necessary for the reconstruction and development of Angola.

3. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs consider that it is for the Angolan people to settle its own destiny. In this connection, they expressed great regard for the efforts made by the OAU to find an African solution to the difficulties, and eschewed anything which might interfere with a successful outcome. They condemned all external military intervention and expressed the firm hope that this would soon be brought to an end. In the interests of the prosperity of the region they hoped that peaceful and constructive co-operation would be established, presupposing friendly relations between the African States involved.

4. The Ministers confirmed the basic position of the Nine Member States of the Community:

- readiness on the part of the Nine to develop co-operation to the extent that such relations are desired by African States, and the rejection of any form of action by any State aimed at the creation of a sphere of influence in Africa,
- respect for the independence of all African States and the sovereign right of these States to define their national policy without foreign interference,
- support for OAU measures to promote African co-operation,
- the right of the Rhodesian and Namibian peoples to self-determination and independence,
- condemnation of the apartheid policy of South Africa.

23.2.76

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-487/79/rev.)

tabled by Mrs BONINO, Mrs CASTELLINA and Mr COPPIETERS

pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure

on European responsibilities in Southern Africa

The European Parliament,

- profoundly disturbed at the prospect of armed conflict spreading throughout southern Africa,
 - indignant at the stubborn maintenance of the system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, in despite of the most fundamental human rights,
 - considering that the racist regimes of southern Africa depend largely for their survival on the economic complicity and support of both the business world and governments in the western European countries, foremost among them member countries of the Community,
 - noting the limited impact so far of the 'Code of Conduct' for European firms promoted in the Community context,
1. Calls upon member governments of the Community to apply strictly and to the full embargos and other sanctions against racist regimes in southern Africa decided upon by the United Nations;
 2. Instructs its committee responsible to undertake a broad-ranging enquiry into the economic complicity of western European firms and governments in supporting the southern African racist regimes;
 3. Requests the Commission to draw up and submit to Parliament detailed figures showing the relative importance of trade with the Community, broken down by sectors, in the external economic relations of the Republic of South Africa.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-515/79)

tabled by Mr van MINNE, Mrs BUCHAN, Mr GRIFFITHS, Mr ENRIGHT, Mr HÄNSCH, Mr SARRE, Mr OEHLER, Mrs GROES, Mr PELIKAN, Mr VERNIMMEN, Mr LINDE, Mr BOYES, Mr SEEFELD, Mr LEZZI, Mr MUNTINGH, Mr CABORN, Mrs KROUWEL-VLAM and Mr ROGERS

with request for urgent debate

pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure

on South Africa

The European Parliament,

- recalling its debate on the code of conduct concerning South Africa,
 - noting the visit of South African politicians under the alleged initiative of the European Parliament,
 - noting that leading members of the European Parliament attended a reception for this delegation and will participate in the further events included in the programme drawn up for this delegation,
1. Dissociates itself from this delegation ;
 2. Confirms its condemnation of the apartheid policy in South Africa ;
 3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, to the Commission and to the Member States' Governments.

Justification

A delegation from South Africa including delegates from Bantu-Stams which are not recognised by any other government in the world is currently visiting the European Parliament. We wish to object to this visit which is totally unacceptable to the Parliament.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-525/79)

tabled by Mrs CASSANMAGNAGO CERRETTI, Mrs MAIJ-WEGGEN, Mrs GAIOTTI DE BIASE, Mr BERSANI, Mr BEUMER, Mr ESTGEN, Mr HERMAN, Mr LIGIOS, Mr MICHEL, Mr NARDUCCI, Mr PENDERS, Mr SEITLINGER and Mr VERGEER

pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure

on South Africa

The European Parliament,

- noting the recent visit to Europe of a fact-finding delegation of leading South Africans,
 - reaffirming the views it has always held on respect for human rights throughout the world,
 - recalling the resolutions on southern Africa adopted by the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly,
1. Condemns the system of apartheid as an institutionalized violation of basic human rights;
 2. Urges the South African authorities to release the political prisoners it holds and to guarantee, without discrimination, the right of defence as well as fundamental freedoms, both individual and social;
 3. Considers that the European Community and its Member States should coordinate more efficiently and step up the pressure they are able to exert on the South African Government, in particular through economic and trade relations;
 4. Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the Nine in this connection to submit to it a full report on the application of the Code of Conduct by European undertakings, their subsidiaries and branches operating in South Africa, together with a report on compliance with the ban on the sale of weapons;
 5. Calls on its Political Affairs Committee to monitor developments in relations between the Community and South Africa and to draw up a report on this matter at the earliest opportunity;
 6. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation and the Commission.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-652/79)

tabled by Mr ENRIGHT, Mr CABORN, Miss QUIN, Mr COHEN, Mr SEAL, Mr GRIFFITHS,
Mr BOYES, Mrs CLWYD, Mr VAN NINNEN and Mr ROGERS
on behalf of the Socialist Group
pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure
on the British Rugby Union tour of South Africa

The European Parliament,

- Anxious that all the Member States of the Community should show a total commitment to racial tolerance,
 - Eager to uphold the principles agreed at Gleneagles,
 - Recalling that the Sports Council of Great Britain will be going on a fact-finding tour of South Africa this month,
1. Totally deplores the action of the British Rugby Union Association in committing itself to a tour of South Africa in contravention of the Gleneagles Agreement;
 2. Calls upon the Commission, the Council and the Governments of the Member States to take all possible steps to prevent this tour;
 3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission of the European Communities and to the governments of the nine Member States.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-24/80)

tabled by Mr ENRIGHT, Mrs BONINO, Mr COPPIETERS, Mr GAUTIER, Mr SCHMID, Mr SEAL, Mrs WEBER, Mr ALBERS, Mr WETTIG, Mr COLLINS, Mr MEGAHY, Mr COLLA, Miss QUIN, Mr SEELER, Mr HUME, Mr GABERT, Mr van MINNEN, Mr CABORN, Mrs VIEHOFF, Mr GRIFFITHS and Mr ARNDT

with request for urgent debate

pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure

on participation in the Olympic Games

The European Parliament.

- having regard to the decision of the UK Government not to allow special leave for civil servants or servicemen to take part in the Olympic Games
 - outraged at the confiscation, by South Africa, of Bishop Desmond Tutu's passport,
1. Calls upon all Member States' Governments to pursue the objective of stopping the British Lions' Rugby Union tour of South Africa with the same vigour as they are pursuing the boycott of the Olympic Games;
 2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission.

JUSTIFICATION

The tour is scheduled to take place before the Olympic Games, which have already been debated under urgent procedure.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-80/80)

tabled by Mr GLINNE, Mrs Van den HEUVEL, Mr KAVANAGH, Mr COLLA, Mr CARIGLIA, Mr LOMAS, Mr LINDE, Mr PELIKAN, Mr ESTIER, Mrs GREDAL and Mr VAN MINNEN

pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure

on apartheid in South Africa

The European Parliament.

- whereas the European Parliament has repeatedly expressed its condemnation of the policy of apartheid which is an enduring violation of human rights;
 - whereas the EEC Member States have on a number of occasions come out in favour of bringing economic pressure to bear on South Africa in order to secure a peaceful change in the region;
 - in view of the demand by the Dutch parliament for an embargo on oil and oil products for South Africa, and the commitment by the Dutch Government to investigate the possibilities of such an embargo within the framework of the European Political Cooperation;
 - considering the results of the congress held on 14, 15 and 16 March 1980 in Amsterdam on South Africa, at which representatives of the United Nations, representatives of African States, and representatives of different political parties called for an oil-embargo against South Africa;
 - considering the resolution being adopted in the General Assembly in the United Nations calling on the member countries to draw up legislation prohibiting the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa;
1. Demands that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs meeting in the framework of political cooperation take a decision in their next meeting to put an embargo on oil and oil products for South Africa and calls on them to report back to the European Parliament by its June plenary session;
 2. Calls on the President to forward this resolution to the Council of Ministers and the governments of the Member States.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-191/80)

tabled by Mr ANSART, Mrs POIRIER, Mr DENIS, Mr PIQUET and Mr VERGÉS

pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure

concerning the ending of relations between the EEC and South Africa's 'apartheid' regime, in accordance with UN resolutions

The European Parliament,

- Considering that the continuing existence of South Africa's 'apartheid' regime, constitutionally founded in racist principles and dictatorial practices, represents a most serious violation of the principles of democracy,
- Having regard to the fact that the United Nations Organization has recommended that the international community take every measure to isolate that regime,
- Having regard to the fact that the Joint Committee and the ACP/EEC Consultative Assembly at meetings in Maseru, Grenada, Luxembourg and Arusha have recommended the suspension of all relations with South Africa,
- Having regard to the fact that military, political, economic, cultural and sports relations currently exist between EEC member countries and South Africa;
- Declares
 - . that all support for, and all cooperation with, the South African regime should forthwith cease;
 - . that the South African mission at the EEC should be closed;
 - . that the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia waged by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) should be recognized as legitimate;
- Requests the Council to press the Governments of the Community Member States to act
 - . for the effective implementation of the UN resolutions;
 - . for the freeing of all political prisoners in Namibia and South Africa, and particularly of Nelson MANDELA and James MANGE;
 - . for the granting, in accordance with the Addendum to the Geneva Convention, of prisoner-of-war status to all ANC and SWAPO fighters;
 - . in support of the Security Council's Resolution 135 and Decision No. 1 on the protection of Namibia's natural resources;
 - . for the development of cooperation between the EEC countries and Africa's front-line countries (Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia).

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-411/80)

tabled by Mrs ROUDY, Mrs LIZIN, Mrs FUILLET and Mrs VAYSSADE
pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure
on the effects of apartheid on women in South Africa

The European Parliament,

- recalling that in December 1979 it adopted a United Nations text condemning all discrimination against women,
 - whereas apartheid is tantamount to an institutionalized form of racism,
 - whereas African women who are the victims of apartheid are doubly oppressed because of both their race and their sex,
 - whereas under such a regime a woman has no rights and is therefore perpetually treated as a minor, whatever her age, education or financial status,
 - whereas in all sectors of the economy women earn on average less than half (about 44%) of what the men earn,
 - whereas there is no prospect of any improvement in the situation, apartheid being a system devised to provide a permanent source of labour that can easily be exploited,
 - whereas such a system leads to the breakdown of any family structure,
 - having regard to the international convention on the suppression and repression of apartheid,
 - recalling the resolutions adopted at the UN World Conferences in Mexico in 1975 and Copenhagen in 1980,
 - having regard to the recent organization of women's movements against apartheid,
1. rejects as inhuman and intolerable any policy whose aim is to keep apartheid alive;
 2. affirms its support for women who have committed themselves to the anti-apartheid movement;
 3. hopes that everything possible (exhibitions, hearings) will be done to increase knowledge and awareness of this problem in Europe;
 4. hopes that it will be made obligatory for a proportion of the funds granted by the United Nations to be earmarked for the training and betterment of women victims of apartheid.

tabled by

Mr HUME, Mr KAVANAGH, Mrs DESMOND, Mr O'CONNELL,
Mr O'LEARY, Mr ROGERS, Mr GLINNE, Mrs CASTLE,
Mr FRIEDRICH, Mr LEZZI, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mr ABENS,
Mr JAQUET, Mr COLLA, Mr ARNDT, Mr ESTIER, Mrs GREDAL,
Mr DIDO, Mrs VIEHOFF, Mr KEY, Mr GRIFFITHS, Mr COLLINS,
Mr ADAM

on behalf of the Socialist Group

and

Mr LALOR, Mr FLANAGAN, Miss DE VALERA, Mr CRONIN,
Mr DAVERN, Mrs EWING, Mr ISRAEL, Mr REMILLY, Mr BLANEY,
Mr RYAN, Mr CLINTON, Mr MCCARTIN, Mr O'DONNELL

with request for urgent debate

pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure

on the Irish Rugby Football Union's South African Tour

The European Parliament,

- deeply shocked at the decision of the Irish Rugby Football Union to accept an invitation to tour South Africa,
 - reiterating its condemnation of the system of apartheid in South Africa and any actions which give it support,
 - recognizing that Ireland has always expressed its total opposition to apartheid, supporting the U.N. and the Community's policies, and aware that the Irish Government has condemned the tour and will refuse leave to Government employees to participate,
 - concerned at the damage this tour could do to Ireland's standing and image at international level,
 - further concerned at its likely effects on both Irish and Community relations with independent Africa in all areas - political, cultural and commercial as well as sport,
 - associating itself with all those groups in Ireland who oppose the tour, which include all political parties and the trade union movement.
1. Calls on the Irish Rugby Football Union to call off its tour;
 2. Approves the initiatives already taken by the Irish Government and calls on it to consider all possible sanctions, in the event of the tour not being cancelled;
 3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Irish Government, the Commission, Council and Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

Justification

Urgent procedure is justified by the fact that the IRFU has only very recently announced its decision to tour South Africa and it is essential that the European Parliament express its view immediately if it is to have any effect.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-925/80)

tabled by Mr GLINNE, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mr COLLA, Mrs WIECZOREK-ZEUL, Mr VAN MINNEN, Mr SARRE, Mr VERNIMMEN, Mr BOYES and Mr ENRIGHT
pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure
on the status of Namibia and the desirability of an oil embargo on South Africa
The European Parliament,

- noting the failure of the recent Geneva Conference on self-determination for Namibia,
 - whereas the situation in Southern Africa is already tense and would show a further serious deterioration if a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem, based on the right of the peoples to self-determination, is not arrived at,
 - drawing attention to the positions adopted by the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations,
1. Calls upon the Foreign Ministers of the Ten meeting in political cooperation to take fresh initiatives in favour of the plan for a settlement drawn up by the 'Five' Western nations and to make all appropriate representations to the South African Government which is illegally occupying the territory of Namibia;
 2. Instructs its committee responsible to draw up a report on the Namibian question, including consideration of the desirability of an embargo on oil products, in parallel with the motion contained in Doc. 1-80/80 (PE 64.541).

Justification

My written question No. 332/74¹ of 14.9.74 to the Commission, and my question No. 333/74² to the Council, raised the problem of the international status of Namibia (economic relations between the EEC and South Africa as the administrator of the territory despite the decisions by the UN and the International Court of Justice; relations with the SWAPO representative; financial contribution to the United Nations fund for Namibia; observer status for the SWAPO representative in discussions between the EEC and the ACP countries; review of the treaties between the EEC Member States and South Africa to exclude Namibia from their area of application; survey of economic interests of the EEC in Namibia and of the impact of cultural agreements with Pretoria and technical cooperation).

My written question No. 161/75³ dated 29.5.75 to the Council and my written question 162/75⁴ to the Commission related to the implementation by the EEC Member States of the decree issued by the United Nations Council for Namibia (adopted in September 1974) on the prohibition of economic and commercial activities on that territory without the consent of the latter Council as the only legal authority.

¹ OJ No. C 3 of 7.1.1975, p.6

² OJ No. C 19 of 27.1.1975, p.3

³ OJ No. C 81 of 6.4.1976, p.1

⁴ OJ No. C 285 of 13.12.1975, p.1

My written question No. 163/75¹ of 3 June 1975 to the Commission proposed that Community aid should be granted to the United Nations special fund for Namibia and action by the EEC Member States in this area coordinated.

My written question No. 166/75² of 4 June 1975 related to political cooperation between the Nine in the matter of the failure by South Africa to respect the time-limit set at 30 May 1975 by the Security Council to put an end to its illegal occupation of Namibia; my question also related to the measures envisaged by the Security Council.

Finally, my written question No. 433/79³ of 6.9.1979 referred to the abstention by the EEC Member States when the UN General Assembly (33rd Session - 19.9.78 to 29.1.79) adopted Resolution 33/182-A on the illegal occupation by South Africa of Namibian territory and in the vote on Resolution 33/182 on the refusal by South Africa to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations Organization on Namibia.

x

x x

Against this background which shows the inadequacy of the response by the European executives over the past 6 years and having regard also to the Geneva Conference held from 7 to 14.1.1981 in an attempt to solve this problem, there is a growing fear that the situation in the whole of Southern Africa will deteriorate severely.

Meeting for a week in Geneva at the instigation of the United Nations, the International Conference on the future of Namibia resulted in the official recognition of total failure on 15 January 1981. The South Africans and the party which has their support in Windhoek, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (D.T.A.) referred to their lack of confidence in the UN and in the plans for a settlement put forward in Resolution 435, drafted in agreement with the 'Contact Group of Five'.

The South African delegates are obviously seeking to gain time for several reasons:

1. they wish to install the 'internal' Windhoek parties permanently in power to avoid further contestation by the SWAPO nationalists who would presumably win the elections to be held under the UN plan;

¹ OJ No. C 272 of 28.11.1975, p.2

² OJ No. C 80 of 5.4.1976, p. 3

³ OJ No. C 49 of 27.2.1980, p.5

2. since the parliamentary session was opening in Cape Town simultaneously with the Geneva Conference, the South African Government was afraid of being placed in a very difficult situation if it 'abandoned' a buffer territory protecting its own frontiers.

South Africa therefore seems to have come to the Geneva Conference for tactical reasons only while SWAPO which was willing to accept the UN plan will now call for effective sanctions in the Security Council; it wants the sanctions to be obligatory and to include an oil embargo.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-932/80)

tabled by Mrs LIZIN

pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure

on military raids by South Africa into Angolan territory and the sanctions which Europe should impose, in particular in the form of an oil embargo

The European Parliament,

- having noted the protests by the Foreign Ministers of the Ten at their meeting in the Hague on 11 February 1981 against military raids from South Africa,
 - having regard to the conclusions reached at the second session of the International Committee of Enquiry from 31 January to 4 February 1981 in Luanda,
 - having regard to the UN resolution calling for an oil embargo against South Africa,
1. Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the Ten to follow up their statement of 11 February 1981 deploring these violations by political action as proposed by the UN, namely an effective oil embargo, to exert genuine pressure on South Africa to change its illegal and aggressive policy;
 2. Calls on the Commission and the Council to take all the appropriate steps to support Angola in its efforts towards independence and national reconstruction, so that it is able to pursue the policy of non-alignment to which it aspires and to do so in particular by authorizing the negotiation of a bilateral agreement between Angola and the Community;
 3. Resolves to send an official European Parliament delegation to Angola.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-945/80)
tabled by Mr GLINNE
pursuant to Rule 25 of the Rules of Procedure
on respect for human rights in South Africa

The European Parliament.

- having regard to the sentence of exile recently passed on the members of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA),
 - having regard to the protest made by the World Confederation of Labour against this fresh attack on human rights in South Africa,
1. Calls on the foreign Ministers of the Ten meeting in political cooperation to impose sanctions against South Africa with a view to securing a fundamental change in the intolerable situation prevailing in that country;
 2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-916/80)

tabled by Mr ROGERS, Mr GLINNE, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mr van MIERT, Mr COLLA, Mr LINDE, Mrs HOFF, Mrs HERKLOTZ, Mrs KROUWEL-VLAM, Mr ADAM, Mr van MINNEN, Mrs SEIBEL-EMMERLING, Mr HÄNSCH, Mr SEELER, Mr SEAL, Mr MOTCHANE, Mr COLLINS, Mrs BUCHAN, Mr GAUTIER, Mr LEZZI and Mrs FUILLET

on behalf of the Socialist Group

with request for urgent debate

pursuant to Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure

on the operation of South African troops in Southern Angola

The European Parliament,

- noting the recent conclusions of the International Commission of Inquiry held in Luanda and Brussels,
 - in view of the attempted destabilization of the southern part of the sovereign state of Angola by South African regular and mercenary troops, operating from the illegally occupied territory of Namibia,
1. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, to exert pressure on South Africa to withdraw from their unwarranted interference in the affairs of Angola;
 2. Calls on the Commission and Governments of the Member States to extend aid to help rehabilitate the areas of Southern Angola devastated by South African military incursions;
 3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Foreign Ministers of the Ten meeting in political cooperation and the Governments of the Member States.

JUSTIFICATION

The European Parliament should express its opinion before the ACP/EEC Joint Committee meeting in Sierra Leone.

tabled by Mr SCHALL, Mr SÄLZER, Mr von HASSEL, Mrs RABBETHGE, Mr HABSBURG, Mr HOFFMANN, Mr FRIEDRICH, Mr WEDEKIND, Mr ALBER, Mr BOCKLET, Mr HAHN, Mr FRANZ, Mr FRÜH, Mr MERTENS, Mr von WOGAU, Mr SAYN-WITTGENSTEIN, Mrs SCHLEICHER, Mr AIGNER, Mr van AERSSSEN, Mr MAJONICA, Mr LEMMER, Mr HELMS and Mr MALANGRE with request for topical and urgent debate pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure on the situation in Namibia

The European Parliament,

- concerned about the military action on both sides of the border between Namibia and Angola, which is an obstacle to a peaceful solution of the Namibia conflict and to the election of a free and independent Namibian government,
- having regard to the 10,000 strong combat troops which have been positioned in southern Angola for many years by Swapo, which have been engaging in guerilla warfare and are supported by weapons and instructors from the Soviet Union, Cuba and the GDR,
- condemning the fact that for years militant Swapo troops, operating from an area within the territory of Angola where a minority of the Ovambo people live, have conducted constant guerilla attacks and warfare, using the most brutal methods, against the majority of the Ovambos, who live in Namibia, for the purpose of intimidating them and exerting terrorist pressure with a view to future elections,
- fearing that the counter-action of the South African troops sent in to protect the Namibian border, which takes the form of military action in Angolan territory in order to destroy the military cadre of Swapo, may also represent an infringement of international law and may lead to an extension of the fighting rather than bringing it to a halt,
- having regard to the UN resolution, which unilaterally favours Swapo and has no real justification, recognizing Swapo as the sole representative of the Namibian people, although the Ovambos are only one of a number of Namibian tribes, live only in the extreme north of the country and cannot, therefore, claim to represent Namibia,
- having regard to the union of all the peoples living in Namibia, including the 10% of whites, in the Turnhalle Alliance and to the free democratic elections held under international observation which led to a black majority government which the Swapo party prudently boycotted in the knowledge that it would suffer a democratic defeat,

1. Calls for the dissolution, under international control of the militant Swapo troops stationed in Angola and for constant surveillance of the border between Angola and Namibia to prevent any terrorist acts against the majority of the Ovambos who live in Namibia;
2. Calls on the UN to take account of the actual ethnic situation in Namibia and to review Swapo's claim to sole representation;
3. Calls for the immediate organization, once the measures under point 1 have been taken, of free and democratic elections involving all the parties and tribal interests represented in Namibia, in order to create an internationally recognized independent and free state of Namibia and to cause the Republic of South Africa to cede the remaining sovereign rights of its protectorate over Namibia;
4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the governments of Angola and of the Republic of South Africa, the governments of the Member States of the Community, the Council, the Commission and the UN.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-490/81)

tabled by Mr SEGRE, Mr VERGES, Mr DENIS, Mrs POIRIER, Mr BAILLOT, Mr PRANCHERE, Mrs LE ROUX, Mr FERNANDEZ, Mr M. MARTIN, Mr FRISCHMANN, Mr WURTZ, Mr DE MARCH, Mr D'ANGELOSANTE, Mrs BARBARELLA, Mr BONACCINI, Mr CARDIA, Mr CAROSSINO, Mr CERAVOLO, Mr DE PASQUALE, Mr LEONARDI and Mr GALUZZI

with request for topical and urgent debate
pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of procedure

on the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by South African troops

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the serious developments caused by the military invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by South Africa,
- having regard to the threats to peace and international security arising from the unstable situation in southern Africa,
- whereas the use of Namibian territory by South Africa as a base for launching military invasions is illegal and is adding to the instability of the region, which includes Mozambique and the two ACP countries Botswana and Zambia,
- recalling its previous stances in support of a solution to the conflict in Namibia and the repeated condemnations by the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly of the policy of apartheid,

1. Strongly condemns the racist regime of South Africa for its premeditated and continuing armed aggression against the people and invasion of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola;
2. Declares this armed invasion to be a blatant violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
3. Calls for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all South African troops from the People's Republic of Angola;
4. Calls on the Community to send urgent material aid to the People's Republic of Angola;
5. Calls on all the Member States to continue the total arms embargo against South Africa brought into effect by the United Nations Resolution No 418 of 4 November 1977;
6. Calls on the Council and the Member States of the Community, whenever and wherever possible, to work for real progress in solving the Namibian conflict, thereby enabling the people of Namibia, in accordance with United Nations Resolutions Nos 385 of 1976 and 435 of 1978, to exercise the rights of self-determination and to achieve complete national independence;
7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Foreign Affairs Ministers meeting in political cooperation and the governments of the Member States.

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MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-491/81)

tabled by Mr IRMER, Mr HAAGERUP and Mr BANGEMANN,
on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group
with request for topical and urgent debate
pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure

on the South African attacks on Angola and the crisis in Namibia

The European Parliament,

- gravely concerned by the South African attacks on Angola,
 - aware that such attacks, unless countered by an effective Western response, can only increase the influence of the Soviet Union and its allies in Angola and throughout Southern Africa,
 - welcoming the condemnation of these attacks by the President-in-Office of the Council,
 - recognizing the need for urgent action if the peaceful establishment of Namibian independence is to be achieved,
 - endorsing United Nations Resolution 435 which is based on the joint proposals of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States,
 - deploring the active opposition and delaying tactics of South Africa which have so far obstructed the implementation of Resolution 435,
1. Calls upon the Governments of the Member States engaged in political cooperation to demand the early implementation of Resolution 435 and to propose the accession of independent Namibia to the Lomé II Convention;
 2. Emphasizes the need for the European Community to cooperate as fully as possible with the Southern African States engaged in the Southern African Development and Cooperation Conference (SADCC) which will reduce the economic dependence of these States on South Africa;
 3. Condemns South Africa's military incursions into neighbouring countries which are vain attempts to sustain its morally repugnant and politically bankrupt system of apartheid;
 4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Secretary-General of the Organization for African Unity, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Prime Minister of South Africa, the President of the Council and the Commission.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-1007/81)

tabled by Mr LEZZI

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the death of the trade unionist Neil Aggett and on the violation of human rights in South Africa

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the results of the meeting of the Joint Committee of the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly held recently in Salisbury (Zimbabwe),
 - recalling that the interests of most black workers in South Africa are represented by the black trade unions,
 - considering that the defence of human rights is an essential requirement for the Community,
 - noting yet again that these rights are constantly being violated by the Pretoria government,
1. Denounces the regime of apartheid which exists in South Africa as the principal cause of the problems in southern Africa;
 2. Denounces the latest restrictions imposed in that country on the activities of journalists, including those of correspondents of foreign newspapers;
 3. Denounces the deaths in prison of 45 black trade unionists since 1963 and the death of the white trade unionist, Neil Aggett, regional head of the African Food Workers Union, which took place in mysterious circumstances in Johannesburg Prison on the night of 4-5 February 1982;
 4. Invites its Political Affairs Committee to submit its report on South Africa at the April part-session at the latest;
 5. Requests that the Community make every effort and bring all pressure to bear to ensure respect for human rights in South Africa;
 6. Asks the Foreign Ministers of the Ten Member States to submit a full report to Parliament on the application of the Code of Conduct by European companies with branches in South Africa;
 7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and Council.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-1071/81)

tabled by Mrs CASTLE, Mr GLINNE, Mr SEELER, Mr ENRIGHT, Mr FUCHS, Mr JAQUET, Mrs CHARZAT, Mr LEZZI, Mr COHEN, Mr BOYES, Mr LOMAS, Mr ROGERS and Mr VAN MINNEN on behalf of the Socialist Group pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the interim report of the fact-finding mission sent by the ACP/EEC Joint Committee to the front-line states of Southern Africa

The European Parliament,

- concerned at the facts revealed in the interim report of the fact-finding mission sent by the ACP/EEC Joint Committee to the front-line states of Southern Africa,
- shocked by the revelation of the systematic acts of military aggression, sabotage and political and economic de-stabilisation pursued by South Africa against these states,
- recalling the resolution passed nem. con. by the recent meeting of the ACP/EEC Joint Committee in Zimbabwe,
- noting that the resolution unreservedly condemns the apartheid regime of South Africa for its repeated acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African states, demands the full respect by the international community of the arms and oil embargoes called for by the UN and calls for additional economic and political pressure on South Africa to end the system of apartheid and its policy of destabilisation in neighbouring states,

Requests the Political and Development Committees jointly to examine the evidence produced by the fact-finding mission and to report to the Parliament at an early date on the ways in which the European Community can implement the recommendations contained in the Joint Committee's resolution.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-24/82)

tabled by Mr Christopher JACKSON, Sir Henry PLUMB, Mr FERGUSON, Mr PEARCE, Mr HAAGERUP, Mr IRMER, Mr PENDERS, Mr VANDEWIELE, Mrs RABBETHGE, Mr HABSBURG, Mr DALZIEL, Mr MARSHALL and Mr HORD

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on Southern Africa

The European Parliament,

- having regard to paragraph 21 of the Resolution adopted by the Joint Committee of the ACP-EEC Assembly in Salisbury on 4 February 1982 which expressed 'its encouragement of the work carried out by all groups and individuals working towards the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a free, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa,
 - whereas the European Parliament condemns the practice of apartheid,
 - whereas relations between South Africa and the other countries of Southern Africa give cause for concern,
 - whereas the European Community has extensive trade relations with countries in Southern Africa,
1. Declares that the European Community, and particularly the European Parliament, must play a positive role in encouraging improved relations between the countries of Southern Africa in the context of a peaceful transition from apartheid to a non-racial democracy in South Africa;
 2. To this end:
 - (a) will encourage those political parties, groups and individuals in South Africa who are working for a peaceful transition from apartheid, and will seek to build constructive relationships between the front line states and South Africa;
 - (b) will encourage its Members and other members of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly to undertake fact-finding missions to, and to establish contacts with progressive forces in, South Africa in order that pressure for peaceful change may be soundly based and effectively directed;
 3. Instructs the President to forward this Resolution to the co-President of the ACP-EEC Assembly, to the Council of Ministers and to the European Commission.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-26/82)

tabled by Mr BOYES, Mr ENRIGHT, Mr GRIFFITHS, Mr KEY, Mr ADAM, Mr MEGAHY, Mrs CASTLE, Mr LOMAS, Mr GALLAGHER, Ms QUIN, Mr SEAL, Ms CLWYD, Mr CABORN, Mr ROGERS, Mr BALFE and Mrs EWING
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure
on the cricket tour of South Africa

The European Parliament,

- noting that 1982 has been designated by the United Nations as International Year for Mobilisation of Sanctions against South Africa,
- aware that there is a 'Gleneagles Agreement' (Commonwealth Countries agreed to sever sporting links with South Africa),
- believing that increasing amounts of money are being provided by government and semi government organizations to attract international sports stars to play in South Africa,
- noting with disgust the decision of the renegade English cricketers to play a series of games in South Africa thereby providing massive propaganda value for the South African governments,
- conscious that a number of opponents of apartheid have 'committed suicide' in South African prisons, the most recent example being Neil Aggett,
- concerned that the present tour poses a serious threat to the future of international test cricket in particular and international sport in general,

1. Resolves

- (a) to condemn the visit of the English cricketers to South Africa;
- (b) to support those cricket authorities who will no longer employ those who participated in the present tour;
- (c) to continue to emphasize the necessity of withholding sporting links from South Africa;

2. Calls upon the President of the Parliament and the Commission to write to the appropriate authorities, government and cricket, in the United Kingdom and to communicate the text of this resolution to the governments of those countries which play international test cricket.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-1094/81)

tabled by Ms CLWYD, on behalf of the Socialist Group
 with request for topical and urgent debate
 pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure
 on South African press policy

'The European Parliament,

- noting that the recent report of the South African Government-appointed STEYN Commission contains the most damaging proposals on the future of the press in that country,
 - noting that under the guise of aiming to professionalise journalism the Commission recommends a system of compulsory registration of all journalists, so that only registered journalists would be allowed to write,
 - noting that those who fail to exercise 'due care and responsibility' on 'matters which may detrimentally affect the economy of the country's international position' may be struck off the register;
 - believing that there are legitimate issues for discussion in any society which wants to ensure freedom, objectivity, accuracy and fair play in its press; but that the South African Government appears to be more concerned with its national security than the ethics of press freedom in this instance,
 - believing that if the STEYN proposals are enacted they will have a serious effect on the freedom of the press and will further diminish the perception of South Africa held by the rest of the world.
1. Urges the Council of Ministers to express their opposition to the recommendations of the STEYN Commission;
 2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and the Commission and to the Government of South Africa.'

tabled by Mr SIEGLERSCHMIDT and Mr GLINNE
on behalf of the Socialist Group
with a request for topical and urgent debate
pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure

on the charge of murder brought against two clergymen in the Republic of
South Africa

The European Parliament,

- deeply concerned at the circumstances in which proceedings are being taken against the clergymen M. PHASEWANE and P.M. PHOSIWA on suspicion of murder, aiding and abetting murder and violation of the South African Terrorism Act in connection with the attack on a police station;
 - shocked by the fact that, according to reliable sources, two of those arrested in connection with these proceedings have died in custody for reasons which have 'not yet been made clear';
 - having been informed that the two accused Lutheran clergymen have stated in evidence before the court that they were subject to maltreatment while in prison and thereby compelled to make incriminating statements;
 - concerned that the responsible superintendent Dean Farisani and two other church workers are to appear in the trial as witnesses for the prosecution, after Dean Farisani had been moved twice from custody to a hospital for reasons which have 'not yet been made clear';
 - fearing, on the basis of these and other facts disclosed, that those detained in this case have been tortured;
1. Demands that during the rest of the proceedings the accused and witnesses be given all the legal guarantees customary in democratic countries and particularly those laid down in the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
 2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, P.W. Botha, informing him of the associated expectations.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-1097/81)

tabled by Mr VAN MIERT and Mr GLINNE on behalf of the Socialist Group
with a request for urgent and topical debate
pursuant to Rule 48 of the Rules of Procedure

on the release of youth movement leaders in South Africa

The European Parliament,

- recalling the International Convention on the Abolition of the Crime of Apartheid,
 - concerned by the situation of Cecil SOLS, coordinator of the YCS (Young Christian Students) movement, who was sent to prison in Soweto last November under the General Laws Amendment Act which prohibits all contact with other people,
 - concerned at the fact that, after 14 days, a detainee becomes subject to title 6 of the Terrorism Act, under which he can be kept in solitary confinement for an indefinite period,
 - equally concerned at the fact that 110 other people have been silenced in this way by the South African regime,
 - noting that numerous youth leaders are being persecuted in South Africa because of their opposition to the apartheid regime.
1. Condemns the arrest of Cecil SOLS and the many other youth leaders who have denounced South Africa's apartheid policy;
 2. Condemns imprisonment without any form of trial, which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations;
 3. Promises to support all youth movements working towards the abolition of the apartheid system;
 4. Reiterates its condemnation of the South African apartheid system and all practices which support it;
 5. Requests the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to end this degrading situation, and to use their best endeavours to ensure that Cecil SOLS is released;
 6. Requests the President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 1-144/82)

tabled by Mr DENIS, Mr FERRERO and Mr VERGES
on behalf of the Communist and Allies Group
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure

on the death sentences pronounced on three members of the African National Congress (ANC) and on the death in prison of the trade union representative Neil AGGETT

The European Parliament,

- extremely concerned at the possibility of three young blacks, N. LUBISI, P. MOSHIGO and N. MANASSA, being hanged after the rejection of their appeal by the Court of Bloemfontein;
 - whereas the use of the death penalty is on the increase in South Africa, where 296 persons were executed in 1981 under the 'special laws';
 - noting the extreme gravity of the attacks on the rights of accused persons, as demonstrated by the recent trial of the clergymen M. PHASEWANE and P.M. PHOSIWA;
 - shocked by the information given by his lawyer on the circumstances surrounding the death following torture of the young white doctor Neil AGGETT, the regional representative of the food-workers' union;
1. Condemns the South African régime for its apartheid policy, its crimes and its numerous attacks on human rights;
 2. Calls upon the Member States to comply without delay with the decisions contained in the resolution adopted by the ACP/EEC Joint Committee in Salisbury on sanctions against South Africa;
 3. Requests that the lives of N. LUBISI, P. MOSHIGO and N. MANASSA be spared;
 4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the governments of the Member States and the South African Government.

OPINION

of the Committee on Development and Cooperation

Draftsman: Mr LEZZI

At its meeting of 19 December 1979 the Committee appointed Mr Lezzi draftsman.

The committee considered the draft opinion at its meetings of 26 May, 22 and 23 June 1982 and adopted it at its meeting of 22 September 1982 by 18 votes to 6, with 3 abstentions.

Present: Mr PONIATOWSKI, chairman; Mr Lezzi, draftsman; Mr Bonaccini (deputizing for Mr Denis), Mrs Carottoni Romagnoli, Mrs Casteltina, Mr Cohen, Mr Cluskey (deputizing for Mrs Dury), Mr de Courcy-Ling, Mr ENRIGHT, Mr Fellermaier, Mr Ferrero, Mrs Focke, Mr Fuchs, Mr Irmer, Mr C. Jackson, Mr E. Kellett-Bowman (deputizing for Mr Pearce), Mr Klepsch (deputizing for Mr Bersani), Mr Loo, Mr Michel, Mr Narducci, Mr Newton Dunn (deputizing for Mr Howell), Mr Papantoniou (deputizing for Mr Kühn), Mrs Pruvot, Mrs Rabbethge, Mr J.D. Taylor (deputizing for Mr Sherlock), Mr Vergeer, Mr Verges and Mr Wawrzik.

I. OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee on Development and Cooperation:

Having regard to the motions for resolutions tabled by Mrs Bonino and others on European responsibilities in Southern Africa¹,
by Mr Van Minnen and others on South Africa²,
by Mrs Cassanmagnago Cerretti and others on South Africa³,
by Mr Glinne and others on apartheid in South Africa⁴,
by Mr Ansart and others concerning the ending of relations between the EEC and South Africa's apartheid regime in accordance with UN resolutions⁵,
by Mrs Roudy and others on the effects of apartheid on women in South Africa⁶,
by Mr Segré and others on the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by South African troops⁷,
by Mr Irmer and others on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group on the South African attacks on Angola and the crisis in Namibia⁸,
by Mr Schall and others on the situation in Namibia⁹,
by Mrs Castle and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on the interim report of the fact-finding mission sent by the ACP/EEC Joint Committee to the front-line states of Southern Africa¹⁰,
by Mr Jackson and others on Southern Africa¹¹,

¹ Doc. 1-487/79/rev.

² Doc. 1-515/79

³ Doc. 1-525/79

⁴ Doc. 1-80/80

⁵ Doc. 1-191/80

⁶ Doc. 1-411/80

⁷ Doc. 1-490/81

⁸ Doc. 1-491/81

⁹ Doc. 1-595/81

¹⁰ Doc. 1-1071/81

¹¹ Doc. 1-24/82

1. Reaffirms its condemnation of the policy of apartheid - also referred to as 'separate development' - pursued in South Africa, which is directed against the non-white population and constitutes a permanent violation of human rights;
2. Condemns the inadequacy of the policy of superficial reforms - 'cosmetic changes' - for the benefit of blacks, which has in fact sought only to abolish petty apartheid, and stresses that the demands of the non-white population, and of workers in particular, are totally different in nature, their main aims being:
 - . full and unrestricted participation in the country's political life,
 - . the establishment of a compulsory, free, high-quality education system,
 - . equal access to employment and abolition of discrimination as regards remuneration and working conditions,
 - . abolition of the measures to control the influx of labour and recognition of a worker's right to settle with his family in the area where he is employed,
 - . recognition of the right to decent accommodation,
 - . recognition of freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of association;
3. Also condemns the inadequacy of the recent internal measures which apply solely to the coloured and Asian population;
4. Condemns once again the establishment of homelands which have not been recognized by any government and serve only to consolidate the apartheid policy by making the populations involved foreigners in the Republic of South Africa, regardless of the economic and demographic facts of the situation;
5. Expresses its support for women victims of apartheid, who are doubly oppressed by virtue of their race and their sex;

6. Expresses its encouragement of the work carried out by all groups and individuals working towards the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a free, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa;
7. Stresses the importance of the evidence provided by the ACP-EEC fact-finding delegation following its recent visit to Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe and awaits with interest any additional information it can supply while continuing and on completing its work;
8. Confirms its approval of the resolution on the situation in Southern Africa adopted on 4 February 1982 by the ACP-EEC Joint Committee at its meeting in Salisbury;
9. Condemns the repeated acts of economic and political destabilization and the acts of aggression perpetrated by the Republic of South Africa against neighbouring states; particularly condemns the repeated military incursions deep into Angolan territory and calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Southern Africa;
10. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence, in accordance with the United Nations Charter;
11. Emphases the need for democratic elections to be held in Namibia without delay in conditions that allow all political parties, including SWAPO, to participate freely;
12. Considers that a solution to the problem of Namibia could put an end to intervention by foreign powers in this region of Africa and would help to ensure stability in Angola;
13. Considers also that a solution of this kind could be a positive influence for the peaceful improvement of race relations in the Republic of South Africa and could give a renewed stimulus to cooperation between the European Community and the African continent and to the North-South dialogue;
14. Calls on the governments of the Member States engaged in political cooperation and on those meeting within the 'Contact Group' to increase their efforts to achieve the rapid implementation of United Nations Resolution 435;

15. Stresses the importance it attaches to the respect of constitutional measures guaranteeing human rights in Zimbabwe and the other countries of Southern Africa with governments representative of a majority of the population despite the political, economic and military pressures on them;
16. Hopes that Namibia will accede to the Lomé Convention on achieving independence;
17. Calls for economic aid to the peoples of Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and Angola to be stepped up to enable them to maintain their economic development while they become increasingly independent from South Africa;
18. Points out that the Southern African Development Coordination Committee is of special importance in that it will enable its members in southern Africa to attain real economic independence, particularly in relation to the Republic of South Africa, and asks therefore that it be granted special aid;
19. Stresses that genuine economic independence can be achieved in particular by the gradual and orderly reduction in the number of migrant workers employed in the Republic of South Africa and by the parallel creation of jobs in their countries of origin and considers that it is essential to support policies directed towards this end;
20. Stresses that, by cooperating more actively with the Southern African Development Coordination Committee and its member states in the mining and energy fields the European Community could find new ways of reducing its dependence on the Republic of South Africa for its raw materials supplies if it also cut its internal consumption;
21. Stresses, furthermore, that increased cooperation with the Southern African Development Coordination Committee should include appropriate technical assistance and should cover the following fields in particular:

- aid for reconstruction and development of infrastructures, notably in the fields of transport and communications,
- aid for the preparation of a collective agro-food strategy;
- aid for industrial development;
- aid for the development of the education and training system,
- aid for refugees;

22. Stresses that Angola and Mozambique will be welcomed as members of the Convention of Lomé and that, at all events, they must be allowed to benefit fully from the Community instruments intended for the development of the non-associated countries;

23. Reiterates Parliament's demands that the sphere of application of the Code of Conduct for Community companies with subsidiaries, branches or representations in South Africa should be extended and the monitoring of its application improved;

24. Demands full respect by the European Community of the embargoes against South Africa called for in various United Nations resolutions with regard to arms and oil supplies;

25. Shares the view expressed by the ACP-EEC Joint Committee at its meeting in Salisbury on 4 February 1982 that economic sanctions have to be incorporated into a programme of increasing pressure on South Africa;

26.

- (a) Considers that an embargo on the export of advanced technology for potential military use, particularly in the nuclear field should be considered in view of the United Nations resolutions mentioned above;
- (b) Calls for an end to the expansion of economic contacts with South Africa and their subsequent reduction;
- (c) Advises all European firms to refrain from further economic investments in South Africa;

- (d) Demands strict adherence by all European companies, including their subsidiaries operating in South Africa, to the UN Code of Conduct;
- 27. Reaffirms that - in addition to observance of the embargos called for above - an end to the financing of South African industry by European banks and a refusal to grant credit guarantees and export licences represent effective means of combating apartheid;
- 28. Believes that a state which, on account of major difficulties, cannot apply such sanctions fully should at least agree to the gradual implementation of the said measures;
- 29. Calls, therefore, on the Commission of the European Communities:
 - (a) to carry out a detailed study of the economic situation of the Member States of the Southern African Development Coordination Committee and of all their economic ties with the Republic of South Africa;
 - (b) to put forward on the basis of that study proposals for measures of economic aid which would counterbalance the adverse effects on those countries of the sanctions applied against the Republic of South Africa;

The Committee on Development and Cooperation hopes that the Political Affairs Committee will be able to take up these points in its report.

II. EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

I. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. The European Community has clearly spelt out the objectives it is pursuing in southern Africa both with regard to the Republic of South Africa and with regard to the majority government countries of the region.
2. In the context of political cooperation, the Community Member States flatly condemn the system of apartheid which prevails in the Republic of South Africa and are endeavouring to secure its abolition through peaceful means¹.

On the question of Namibia, the Community Member States also have a common position, calling for its independence on the basis of the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978)¹.

3. The Community has more than ever a duty to pay heed to the profound desire for change expressed by the coloured population of the Republic of South Africa.
4. In recent years, awareness of the intolerable nature of apartheid and hopes for radical reform encompassing education, employment and freedom of expression and association as well as participation in political life have intensified considerably.
5. This may be attributed both to the predictable failure of the superficial reforms of the last few years, whose primary purpose was to abolish 'petty apartheid' without jeopardizing the system's essential structures, and to the emergence of

¹ See, in particular, the statements made by Lord Carrington in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community before the United Nations General Assembly in September 1981 - 'The European Community and Southern Africa', EEC Commission, December 1981, pp. 4 and 5.

neighbouring majority government states which are now setting themselves up as allies and models for the aspirations of the coloured population of South Africa.

6. The South African regime, for its part, continues vigorously to oppose any serious reform for fear of arousing new and deeper expectations in a coloured population that has become increasingly essential to the smooth running of its economy.
7. Indeed, it is adopting a more reactionary, not to say a more aggressive, stance, thereby threatening to destabilize a region which is of crucial interest to the West, because of its raw materials and its strategic importance, and in which superpower influence is already extensive.
8. Taking advantage of the heightening tensions between East and West, the South African Government is deliberately seeking to give the problems of the region an international dimension by trying to secure for itself a semi-official place among the Western allies, in whose eyes, however, its objective is to pass off as communist influence what in fact is the expression of African nationalism.
9. In the face of this, it is incumbent on the European Community to help prevent a deterioration of the situation, protect the right of the peoples concerned, work for the independence and non-alignment of the southern African states and strengthen peace in the region.
10. If it is to be able to do this, it must recognize that the policy of compromise and declarations of intent which it has pursued hitherto has served only to protect its commercial and financial links with the Republic of South Africa, but has in no way helped to facilitate the implementation of a peaceful

solution to the problem of apartheid or to settle the problem of Namibia.

11. The Community's immediate task must therefore be to adopt a clear policy and a consistent approach, including economic sanctions within a programme of increased political pressure, vis-à-vis the Republic of South Africa.
12. As far as Namibia is concerned, it is to be hoped that the Community Member States will redouble their efforts, both within the framework of political cooperation and through the members of the Contact Group of the Western Five, to persuade the South African regime to accept rapid and full application of United Nations Resolution 435 and full participation in the negotiations of SWAPO, which is recognized by the OAU and the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.
13. The objective pursued by the Community vis-à-vis the majority government countries of the region is identical to that which it pursues in relation to the developing countries, particularly the African countries, which is to promote economic and social development¹.

II. CONDITIONS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY'S DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVE

- (1) The economic and political situation and aspirations of the majority government states of southern Africa
14. All the majority government states of southern Africa are developing countries whose per capita GNP - leaving aside Botswana and Swaziland which, although having a higher per capita GNP, still fall within the category of the least

¹ See, in particular, the conclusions reached by the Presidency of the European Council in Bremen on 6 and 7 July 1978, EC Bulletin, 6-1978, point 1.5.2.

advanced countries, in common with Lesotho and Tanzania - lies between 200 and 500 US dollars.

	Population (millions of inhabitants) mid-1979	GNP per inhabitant		Least advanced countries
		Dollars 1979	Average annual growth (%) 1960-79	
MALAWI	5.8	200	2.9	
MOZAMBIQUE	10.2	250	0.1	
TANZANIA	18.0	260	2.3	*
LESOTHO	1.3	340	6.0	*
ZIMBABWE	7.1	470	0.8	
ZAMBIA	5.6	500	0.8	
SWAZILAND	0.5	650	7.2	*
BOTSWANA	0.8	720	9.1	*
ANGOLA	6.9	440	-2.1	

(World Bank, 1981: The accelerated development of Africa south of the Sahara)

15. The structures of these countries' exports shows that each of them is heavily dependent on a small number of basic products¹. The exploitation of their energy and mining resources which are apparently very large, especially oil and gas in Angola and coal in Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, is still only at an embryonic stage².

¹See table at Annex I.

²The accelerated development of Africa south of the Sahara, draft action programme, World Bank 1981, p. 120 et seq.

16. An examination of the very incomplete official statistical data available at international and Community level¹ concerning their trading patterns and of the accompanying remarks reveals, at least in the case of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, a very high level of dependence on the Republic of South Africa, with which these countries are linked through the South African Customs Union.

Malawi seems to be increasingly dependent on the Republic of South Africa for its imports.

Angola, Mozambique and Zambia trade far less with the Republic of South Africa and their exports to that country are negligible. No official information is available on trade in recent years between Tanzania and Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa.

17. The dependence of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland on the Republic of South Africa has been increased still further by the fact that the Republic is a major employer of male labour from those countries² - indeed, it is the main employer in the case of Lesotho - and by the fact that the transfers of earnings by the migrant workers concerned partly offset the deficit of their trade balance with the Republic.
18. Furthermore, since 1978 the Republic of South Africa has recorded a dramatic increase in sales consisting mainly, but not exclusively, of foodstuffs to Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe³.
19. In addition to this economic dependence, the landlocked countries of the region - Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe - are faced with the further difficulty

¹See table at Annex II.

²See table at Annex III.

³The Economist, 16 May 1981, 'South African Trade in the Black'.

of communications and access to the sea, which - with the exception of Lesotho which is entirely enclosed by South African territory - leaves them with no alternative but to turn either to Angola, Mozambique or Tanzania or to the Republic of South Africa and Namibia.

20. These economic and geographical data would be incomplete without some reference to the political climate of the region, in whose recent past there have been moves towards independence accompanied by wars of national liberation, the consequences of which are today felt, not only directly within the countries concerned - Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe - but also, indirectly, within the neighbouring states, which were anxious to comply with the economic sanctions against former Rhodesia, have had to cope with the movement of refugees and, during the period of conflict in Angola and Mozambique, had to face the disruption of two important lines of communication to the sea¹.

21. Furthermore, in this rapid sketch of the political situation in southern Africa, due emphasis must be placed on the cardinal political factor, which is the opposition of all the majority government states of the region to the system of apartheid applied by the Republic of South Africa and to its policy with regard to Namibia. Similarly, attention must be drawn to the political and economic destabilization measures and to the acts of military aggression to which, in consequence, some of them are exposed.

As far as Angola, Zambia and Mozambique are concerned, the relevant facts have been clearly presented in the interim report submitted by the ACP-EEC fact-finding delegation to the ACP-EEC Joint Committee in Salisbury, Zimbabwe, following its visit to those three countries from 23 January to 1 February 1982¹.

¹See the interim report of the ACP-EEC fact-finding delegation to the front-line countries of southern Africa, 1 January 1982, ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly, Joint Committee, CA/CP/270.

22. Faced with this combination of economic and political difficulties and under pressure from the front-line states - Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia - the majority government countries of southern Africa arrived at the conclusion that their existing political cooperation should be bolstered by some form of regional economic cooperation with the primary objective of promoting genuine independence for their countries from the Republic of South Africa.
23. In 1979, the Southern African Development Coordination Committee was set up.
24. Meeting in April 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia, the governments of the nine independent states of southern Africa adopted the declaration 'Southern Africa: towards economic liberation'¹, which affirms the need for those states to back up their struggle for genuine political independence with common action for the attainment of economic freedom. The declaration specifies that the development objectives to be pursued on the basis of coordinated action are as follows:
1. Reducing economic dependence, in particular, but not solely, on the Republic of South Africa;
 2. Establishing links with a view to securing genuine and equitable regional integration;
 3. Mobilizing resources to promote the implementation of national, inter-state and regional policies;
 4. Taking coordinated action with a view to obtaining international cooperation in a strategy of economic liberation.

The declaration also stresses that transport and communications

¹ PE 67.726 of 2 October 1980

would be the key factor of this strategy of economic liberation.

25. Since the Lusaka meeting the Committee's proceedings and constituent bodies have been defined. They include: an annual summit meeting of Heads of State, a ministerial Council, a standing committee of officials responsible for assisting the Council, sectoral committees - including one for transport and communications in southern Africa - and a secretariat directed by an executive secretary¹.
- (2) The economic repercussions of sanctions recommended by the European Community against the Republic of South Africa
26. Apart from the repeated public condemnation by the Community Member States in the context of political cooperation, of the apartheid system established in the Republic of South Africa and of its policy towards Namibia and the participation of those states in, inter alia, the Year against Apartheid (1978) organized by the United Nations, the Foreign Ministers of the Community, meeting in political cooperation, adopted, on 20 September 1977, a Code of Conduct for Community companies with subsidiaries, branches or representations in South Africa.
27. The European Parliament has delivered an opinion on the form, status, context and application of this Code².

Unfortunately, the criticisms expressed at the time by the European Parliament must here be restated since no improvement has taken place in the meantime. In particular:

¹ Southern African Development Coordination Committee: From dependence and poverty towards economic liberation, SADCC BLANTYRE 1981

² OJ No. C 127/56 of 21.5.1979 and report by Mr Lagorce, Doc. 70/79 of 17.4.1979

- the Code is not legally binding and there are no sanctions as to its application;
- some of its provisions, particularly those relating to the fixing of minimum wages, are inadequate;
- it refers only to black African workers, whereas South African society also includes Asians and coloureds who are likewise affected by the apartheid policy;
- there are no guarantees as to the uniform application of the Code by companies of different Community Member States;
- there has been no agreement on a model for the drawing up of the reports to be submitted by the companies concerned;
- monitoring the application of the Code is inadequate since the task is left to the Member States meeting in political cooperation, whereas it is desirable for all monitoring activities to be transferred from the political cooperation sphere to the Community institutions;
- there is a need to set up an ad hoc body of the Committee on Development and Cooperation to scrutinize the reports of the companies concerned;
- there is a need to ensure that the implementation of the Code is but one element of a general strategy to combat apartheid, which must start with the vital sector of employment.

28. While it is not yet possible to examine the reports submitted by companies and Member States, it seems that it can already be stated that only a minority of companies - which on the whole are among the largest and benefit from an internal development plan - consider the objectives of the Code of Conduct compatible with their interests, notably as regards their relations with local labour.

Most of the companies regard the Code as an unwarranted intrusion into their private management.

29. It should nevertheless be stressed that the Code of Conduct - if modified in accordance with the recommendations made by the European Parliament in 1979 and recapitulated above - could constitute an important instrument in the fight against apartheid.

These modifications must help to achieve the desired result, in the context of the increased political and economic pressures to be brought to bear on the Republic of South Africa.

30. The measures envisaged must not, however, have direct and far-reaching repercussions on the states neighbouring on the Republic of South Africa.
31. This would be avoided if certain sanctions advocated either by the United Nations or by the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly or by the European Parliament itself were applied.
32. The United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly come down in favour of the application of global economic sanctions¹ and an oil embargo against the Republic of South Africa. It must, however, be pointed out that the relevant resolutions were adopted in the face of opposition from a majority of the Community Member States and abstentions by certain majority government southern African countries.
33. To date, the Security Council has approved only one type of sanction: an arms embargo². It has, however, consistently rejected - mainly because of the opposition of the two perm-

¹See, in particular, resolutions 35/206 of 16.12.1980 and 36/172 of 17.12.1981.

²Resolution 418 (1977) of 4.11.1977.

anent members belonging to the European Community - the draft resolutions calling for the introduction of an oil embargo¹ or global sanctions².

34. The joint bodies set up by the Convention of Lomé - the ACP-EEC Joint Committee and Consultative Assembly - have also pronounced in favour of applying sanctions against the Republic of South Africa.
35. At its last meeting the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly adopted, on 30 September 1981 in Luxembourg, a resolution on the situation in southern Africa recommending 'strict observance' of the embargo imposed by the United Nations on arms and oil supplies to South Africa³.
36. Meeting in Salisbury, the ACP-EEC Joint Committee adopted, on 4 February 1982, a resolution on the situation in southern Africa⁴, in which it called for total observance of the arms embargo - including cooperation on nuclear weapons - and oil embargo against South Africa demanded by various United Nations resolutions.

The Committee also felt that an embargo on exports of advanced technology capable of being used for military purposes, particularly in the nuclear field, should be considered in view of the United Nations resolution mentioned above.

Lastly, it was convinced that the economic sanctions must be integrated into a whole range of measures designed to increase pressure on South Africa and called for:

- . an end to the strengthening of economic ties with South Africa and a subsequent loosening of those ties,

¹ See, in particular, draft resolution distributed without reference, S/14461, sitting of 30.4.1980

² Idem, S/14460

³ OJ No. C 15/32, 20.1.1982

⁴ CA/CP/275/fin., 9.2.1982

. a ban on all new economic investment by European companies,

. strict compliance by European companies with the United Nations Code of Conduct.

37. On 17 December 1981, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the situation in southern Africa recommending strict observance of the arms and oil embargo in line with the United Nations resolutions¹.

38. It must be recognized that the economic sanctions imposed against different states in recent times have proved to be largely ineffective.

If, in the present case, the economic sanctions are to achieve their goal, it seems obvious, therefore, that they must be applied by all the western countries, with the European Community taking the lead.

39. In addition, we must face up to the fact that the application of such sanctions is likely to have adverse repercussions on the Community economy.

Except in cases of serious difficulty, these will have to be fully borne by its Member States.

What is essential, however, is that the European Community should make an unequivocal choice between its economic ties with the Republic of South Africa and its political commitments in Africa.

40. The precariousness of the economic situation of the majority government countries of southern Africa and their dependence on the Republic of South Africa - even if, on the whole,

¹ Doc No C 11/91, 18.1.1982

)

little is known about the extent of such dependence and the various aspects of economic life it affects - have been discussed in section II(1). In the circumstances, the Committee on Development and Cooperation has a duty to demand that, on the basis of more comprehensive economic data, a study be conducted of the potential economic repercussions on the majority government states of all the various economic sanctions which the European Community seeks to apply against the Republic of South Africa¹ and that, at the same time, appropriate measures be taken to offset the negative effects.

¹For the effects of an oil embargo on the neighbouring countries see: United Nations, Centre against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, Oil Sanctions against South Africa, 12/78, June 1978.

III. MEASURES BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

(1) The European Community and the majority government southern African countries belonging to the Convention of Lomé

41. Six southern African states were members of the first Convention of Lomé: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia.
- With the accession of Zimbabwe in 1980, the number of such states belonging to the second Convention of Lomé rose to seven.
42. Individually, each of these states benefits from the various provisions of the Convention, especially those relating to:
- freedom of access to the Community market for 99.5% of their exports. A preferential scheme has been introduced to take account of the importance of beef and veal exports from Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe and sugar exports from Malawi, Swaziland and Zimbabwe;
 - financial cooperation;
 - emergency aid;
 - STABEX and SYSMIN;
 - the Centre for Industrial Development.
43. Collectively, these states - meeting within the Southern African Development Coordination Committee - benefit from the regional cooperation provisions.
44. The financial resources made available to them under the various chapters of the first and second Conventions are estimated as follows:

LOME CONVENTION I:

	<u>Millions of ECU</u>				
	Indicative programmes		Emergency aid	STABEX	Regional
	EDF	EIB ¹	(situation April 1980)	(situation at 31.12.81) ²	coopera- tion
Botswana	19	2	2,67	-	
Lesotho	22	2	1,2	-	
Malawi	70	10	1,5	-	
Swaziland	12	10-12	0,03	13,2	± 60
Tanzania	103	2 ³	0,35	20,7	
Zambia	47	20-30	15,6	-	
	273	46-58	21,35 ⁴	33,9	± 60

¹ Approximate figures put forward at the 1975 and 1976 planning meetings.

² Court of Auditors, Annual report on the 1980 financial year, OJ C 344/204, 31.12.1981

³ By the end of April 1980, 12.5 million ECU had been allocated.

⁴ +4.7m ECU granted to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for a programme to assist refugees in southern Africa. Total emergency aid to southern Africa is therefore 26,05m ECU.

LOME CONVENTION II:

	<u>Millions of ECU</u>	
	Estimates of individual allocations in the form of direct aid ¹	Estimates of regional cooperation aid
Botswana	22-25	
Lesotho	26-30	
Malawi	76-84	
Swaziland	17-19	± 90
Tanzania	115-132	
Zambia	53-60	
Zimbabwe	40	

¹ Excluding resources earmarked for STABEX and SYSMIN

Source: Commission of the European Communities, The European Community and southern Africa, December 1981

45. In addition to the provisions of the two Lomé Conventions, the states in question have benefited from successive Community food aid programmes, as follows:

FOOD AID (up to 1979)¹

	<u>Cereals</u>	<u>Milk powder</u>	<u>Butteroil</u>	(in tonnes)
Botswana	500	369	50	
Lesotho	5.221	196	180	
Malawi		115		
Swaziland		8		
Tanzania	36.000	12.090	2.085	
Zambia	36.000	4.506	1.410	
Zimbabwe				

¹ Aid supplied via organizations relates only to 1977, 1978 and 1979.

Source: Court of Auditors, Special Report on Community Food Aid, 30.10.1980, pp. 145 and 146

46. Furthermore, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Tanzania, which belong to the group of the least advanced countries, stand to benefit from the new guidelines of the Community policy for the least advanced countries now being formulated by the Community following the Paris Conference of September 1981¹.

(2) The European Community and the non-associated majority government countries of southern Africa

47. Neither Angola nor Mozambique are members of the Convention of Lomé, nor have they concluded any cooperation or trade agreement with the European Community.
48. As developing countries, they benefit from all the Community development instruments intended for the non-associated developing countries:

¹ OJ C 11/42 and 193, 18.1.1982, and reports by Mr COHEN, Doc. 1-817/81, 7.12.1981, and Doc. 1-823/81 of 8.12.81

- the Community's generalized preferences scheme¹
- financial and technical cooperation with the non-associated developing countries²: since the introduction of this new development instrument in 1976, Angola and Mozambique have received Community aid (in 1978 and 1979).

Since 1979, although funds have been earmarked and continue to be earmarked under the 1980, 1981 and 1982 programmes³ to finance projects in southern Africa and although since the accession of Zimbabwe to the Lomé Convention they are the only African states that qualify for this type of aid, the Council of the European Community has adopted no financing decisions in their favour⁴.

It would seem that the aid set aside, which is at present frozen, could be released if Angola and Mozambique signified their intention of participating in the future negotiations on the Convention that will replace the Convention currently in force⁵.

- food aid: Angola and Mozambique received - between 1976 and 1981 - the following Community food aid:

¹ Report by Mr COHEN on the proposals from the Commission to the Council for regulations fixing the Community's scheme of generalized tariff preferences for the period 1982-1985 and opening the scheme applicable in 1982, Doc. 1-641/81, 11.11.1981

² Report by Mr ENRIGHT on the general guidelines for the 1982 programme of financial and technical cooperation with the non-associated developing countries and on Community financial and technical aid to those countries, Doc. 1-819/81, 8.12.1981

³ Financial and technical cooperation with the non-associated developing countries: general guidelines for the 1982 programme, COM(81) 536 final, 29.9.1981

⁴ Answers by the EEC Council to Written Questions Nos. 1738/80 and 179/81, OJ C 264/2, 15.10.1981, and OJ C 309/1, 30.11.1981

⁵ Agence Europe, 25.2.1982

DIRECT FOOD AID (1) AND DIRECT AND INDIRECT FOOD AID (2)
FROM 1976 to 1981

		(in tonnes)		
		Cereals	Milk powder	Butteroil
<u>ANGOLA:</u>				
1976	(1)			
1976-78-79	(2)	10.000	850	2.000
1980	(1)			
1981	(1)	8.000	500	
<u>MOZAMBIQUE:</u>				
1976	(1)	5.000	1.050	
1977-78-79	(2)	46.850	2.890	1.170
1980	(1)	10.000		
1981	(1)	25.000	750	200

Sources: (1) Commission of the European Communities,
The European Community and southern Africa,
December 1982, p. 32

(2) Court of Auditors,
Special Report on Community Food Aid,
30.10.1980, p. 146

- emergency aid: Community emergency aid was granted, notably in 1979 and 1980, to help cope with certain natural disasters and epidemics and to bring relief to war victims.

49. As members of the Southern African Development Coordination Committee, Angola and Mozambique receive direct financial aid from the Community, in the form of regional cooperation aid provided for by the Lomé Convention¹, for a certain number of projects, e.g. in the educational field and to combat foot-and-mouth disease².

¹See section III(1) and, in particular, the table.

²Commission of the European Communities, The European Community and southern Africa, p. 22

STRUCTURE OF EXPORTS IN 1978 (%)

	FUELS	MINERALS AND METALS	FOOD PRODUCTS	OTHER PRIMARY PRODUCTS	MANUFACTUR
ANGOLA	62	2	23	6	7
BOTSWANA
LESOTHO	6	26	23	9	36
MALAWI	0	0	95	1	4
MOZAMBIQUE	10	2	64	21	3
SWAZILAND
TANZANIA	2	2	65	25	6
ZAMBIA	(.)	94	1	0	4
ZIMBABWE	..	25(1)	..	62(2)	13

¹including fuels

²including food products

.. not known

(.) less than half a percent

World Bank, The accelerated development of Africa south of the Sahara, draft action programme, 1981, p. 174

THREE MAIN PRODUCTS EXPORTED AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL EXPORTS

						(%)	TOTAL	
ANGOLA	(5)	oil	40	coffee	18	iron ores	3	61
BOTSWANA	(1)	diamonds	4.1	copper and nickel	27.3	meat	14.8	83.2
LESOTHO	(3)	mohair and other textile fibres	25.3	beans, peas and dried veg.	12.2	diamonds	3.1	40.6
MALAWI	(1)	raw tobacco	31	tea	19.3	unrefined beet and cane sugar	7.5	57.8
MOZAMBIQUE								
SWAZILAND	(3)	unrefined beet and cane sugar	32.6	iron ores	7.2			39.8
TANZANIA	(2)	coffee	49.5	raw cotton	12.2	cloves (3)	6.8	68.5
ZAMBIA	(4)	copper	91.1	zinc	3.9	lead	1.1	96.1
ZIMBABWE								

(1) : 1978, (2) : 1977, (3) : 1976, (4) : 1975, (5) : average 1974-7
Eurostat, ACP: Yearbook of External Trade Statistics, 1972-1978, 1981
ANGOLA: EEC Commission, Community-Third World, The challenge of interdependence

ANNEX II - A

TRADE WITH THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA - OR WITHIN THE
SOUTH AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION - AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL TRADE
(%)

		1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
IMPORTS												(c)
ANGOLA	.											11
(b).	.	4	3.7	4.6	5.8	9.9						
BOTSWANA	(a).				80	75	80	81				
.	.											
LESOTHO	(d).											
.	.											
MALAWI	(a).		11	13	18	24	24	30				39
(b).	.	12.9	10.8	12.8	18.2	23.5	24.5	29.4	37.2	38.4		
MOZAMBIQUE	.											11
(b).	.	15.4	14.9	14.8	20.3	18.9	17.6		19.8			
SWAZILAND	(d).											
.	.											
TANSANIA	.											
.	.											
ZAMBIA	(a).	18	16	16	13	9	7					4
(b).	.	18.3	16.4	16	13.3	8.7	7.3	7.9	7.7			
ZIMBABWE	.											
.	.											
EXPORTS		1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
												(c)
ANGOLA	.											2
(b).	.	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1	1						
BOTSWANA	(a).				19	38	24	15				
.	.											
LESOTHO	.											
.	.											
MALAWI	.											4
(b).	.	6.7	5.3	5.7	4.5	4.6	5.9	5.4	7.3	4.6		
MOZAMBIQUE	.											3
(b).	.	10.4	9.9	8.8	9.9	9.7	8.5		7			
SWAZILAND	.											
.	.											
TANSANIA	.											
.	.											
ZAMBIA	.											0
(b).	.				0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2			
ZIMBABWE	.											
.	.											

Sources:

- (a) Eurostat, Analysis of trade between the EEC and the ACP States, 1979: in the case of Botswana, the figures relate to the South African Customs Union
- (b) United Nations, Statistical Yearbooks of International Trade, 1977-78-79: relate to the South African Customs Union
- (c) IMF Yearbook, Directorate for Trade, 1981
- (d) Remarks by Eurostat:
 - Lesotho: economy depends heavily and at various levels on that of South Africa;
 - Swaziland: no precise figures available, but it is certain that most imports are from South Africa.

ANNEX III - A

MIGRANT WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE REPUBLIC OF
SOUTH AFRICA

	1977 ¹	1979 ²	Working ₃ population in 1977
ANGOLA	805		1.801.000
BOTSWANA	43.159	20.000	346.000
LESOTHO	160.634	100.000	642.000
MALAWI	12.761	15.000	2.339.000
MOZAMBIQUE	111.257	45.000	3.766.000
SWAZILAND	20.750	8.000	230.000
TANZANIA			6.808.000
ZAMBIA	766		1.978.000
ZIMBABWE	32.716	2.500	2.258.000
		(1981: 60.000) ⁴	

¹South Africa 1978, Official Yearbook of the RSA

²Stahl and Bohning, 'Black migration to South Africa: a selection of policy-oriented research', published by the International Labour Office, Geneva

Quoted in The Guardian, 20.11.1981

³UNCTAD, Manual of International Trade and Development
Statistics, 1979

⁴Interim report of the ACP-EEC fact-finding delegation on its visit to the front-line countries of southern Africa, 1.2.1982, CA/CP/270, p. 14